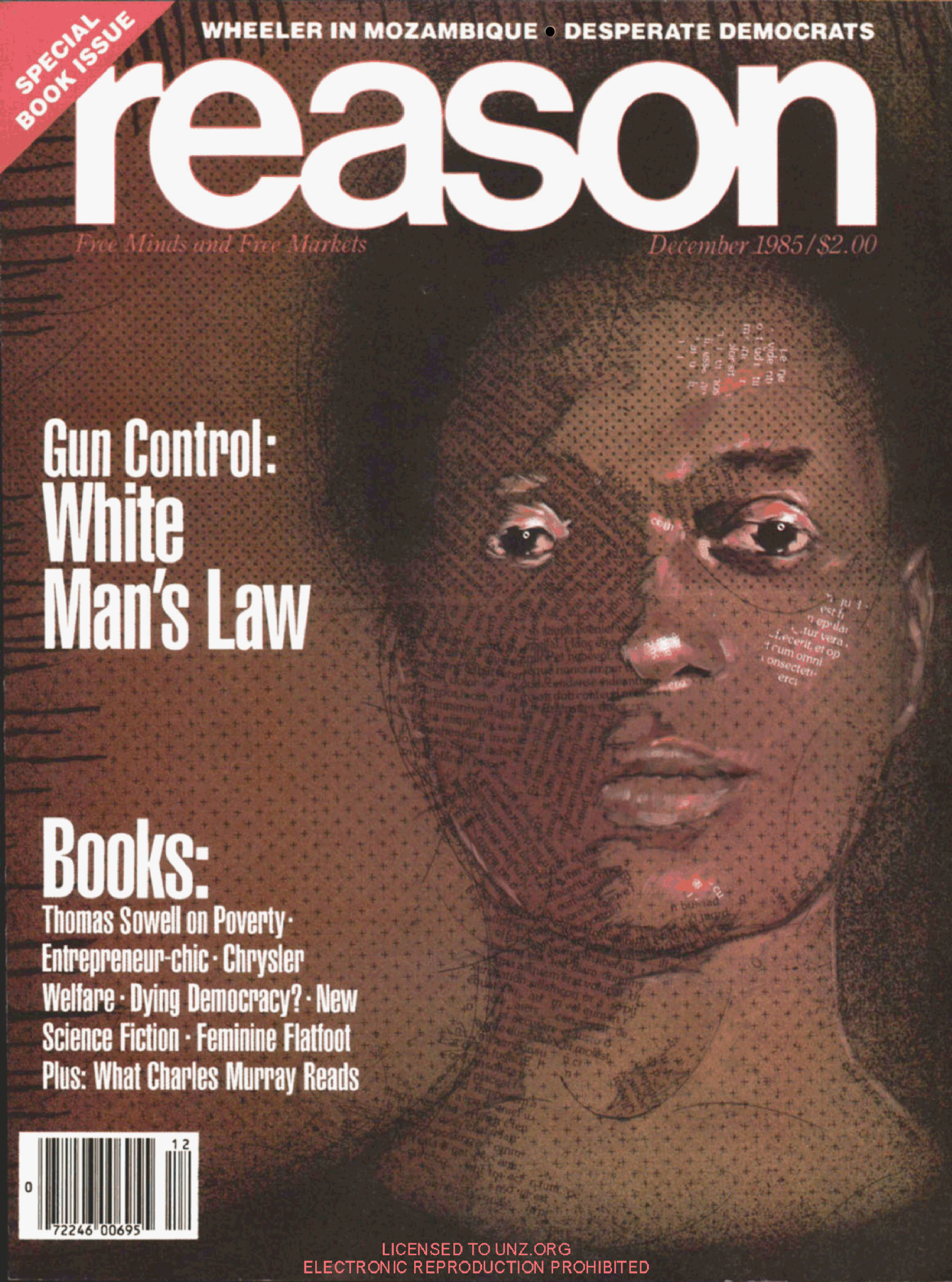
SPECIAL BOOK ISSUE

WHEELER IN MOZAMBIQUE • DESPERATE DEMOCRATS

reason

Free Minds and Free Markets

December 1985/$2.00



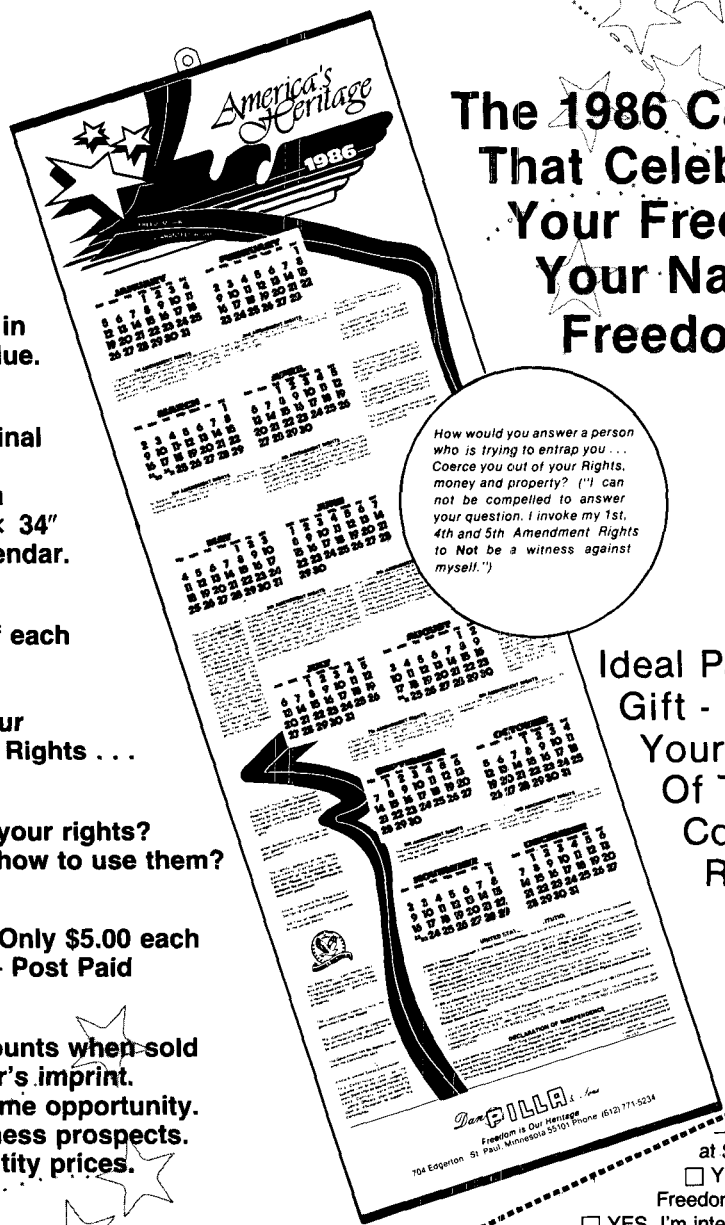
Gun Control: White Man's Law

Books:

Thomas Sowell on Poverty · Entrepreneur-chic · Chrysler Welfare · Dying Democracy? · New Science Fiction · Feminine Flatfoot
Plus: What Charles Murray Reads

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IT'S BACK AGAIN!


America's Heritage
1986
How would you answer a person who is trying to entrap you . . . Coerce you out of your Rights, money and property? ("I can not be compelled to answer your question. I invoke my 1st, 4th and 5th Amendment Rights to Not be a witness against myself.")
Dan PILLA
Freedom is Our Heritage
704 Edgerton St. Paul, Minnesota 55101 Phone (612) 771-5234

The 1986 Calendar That Celebrates Your Freedom . . . Your Nation's Freedom . . .

Available now in red, white & blue.

Complete original Bill of Rights displayed on a beautiful 11" × 34" panel wall calendar.

Explanation of each of your rights. Explains how to exercise your Constitutional Rights . . .

Do you know your rights? Do you know how to use them?

Gift Boxed — Only $5.00 each
3 for $10.00 — Post Paid

Quantity discounts when sold with advertiser's imprint. Excellent income opportunity. Show to business prospects. Write for quantity prices.

Ideal Patriot's Gift - Remind Your Friends Of Their Constitutional Rights!

SEND TODAY TO: DAN PILLA
704 EDGERTON • ST. PAUL, MN 55101
OR CALL: (612) 771-5234

☐ YES, Please Send Me _____ Freedom Calendars at $5.00 each.

☐ YES, Please Send Me _____ Freedom Calendars at 3 for $10.00.

☐ YES, I'm interested in Quantity Discounts for Personalized Calendars. Please send information.

Enclosed is $5.00 for sample calendar.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

RE84

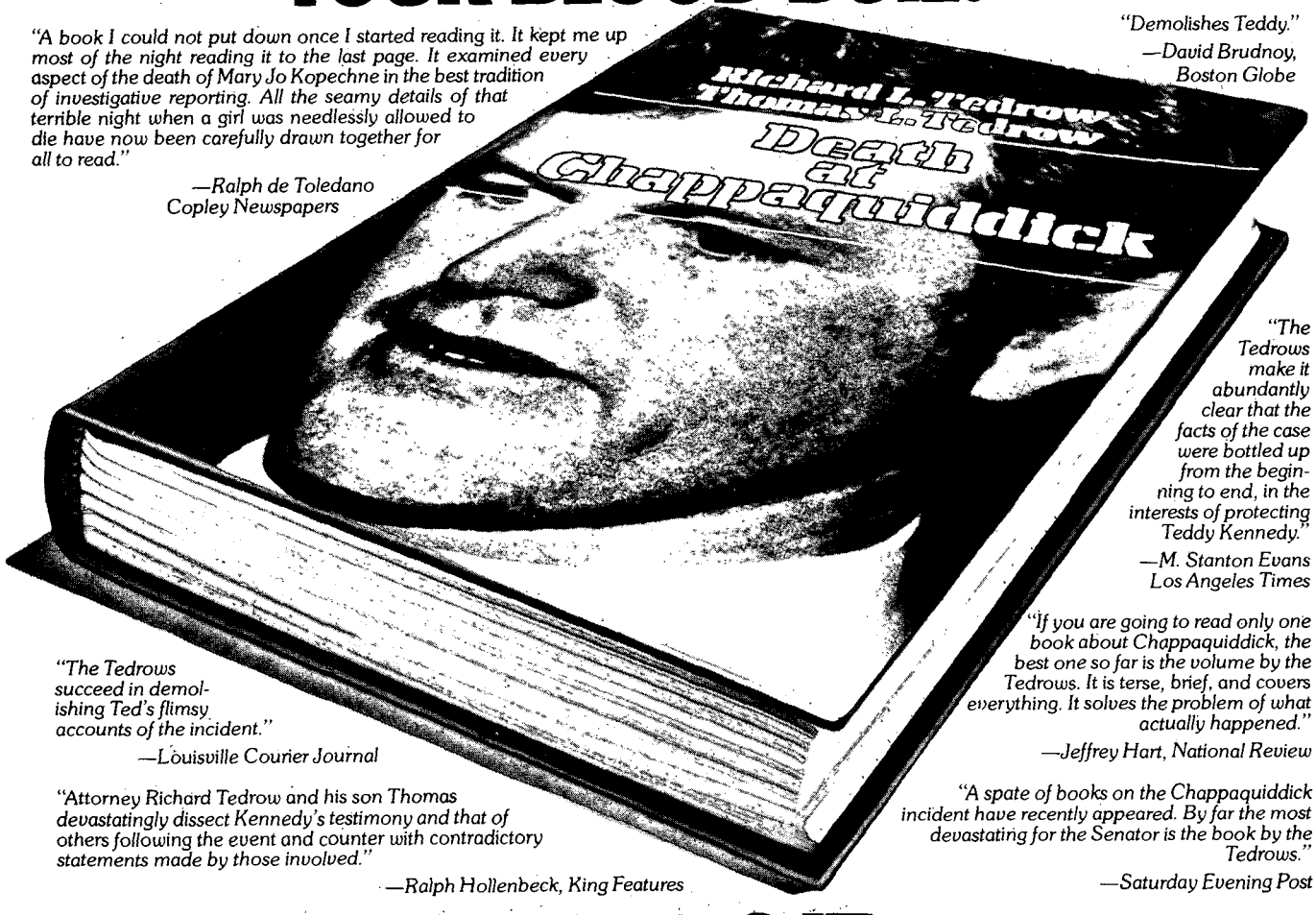
EVERY YEAR OR SO IT DOES YOU GOOD TO READ SOMETHING THAT WILL MAKE YOUR BLOOD BOIL.

"A book I could not put down once I started reading it. It kept me up most of the night reading it to the last page. It examined every aspect of the death of Mary Jo Kopechne in the best tradition of investigative reporting. All the seamy details of that terrible night when a girl was needlessly allowed to die have now been carefully drawn together for all to read."

—Ralph de Toledano
Copley Newspapers

"Demolishes Teddy."

—David Brudnoy,
Boston Globe



"The Tedrows make it abundantly clear that the facts of the case were bottled up from the beginning to end, in the interests of protecting Teddy Kennedy."

—M. Stanton Evans
Los Angeles Times

"The Tedrows succeed in demolishing Ted's flimsy accounts of the incident."

—Louisville Courier Journal

"If you are going to read only one book about Chappaquiddick, the best one so far is the volume by the Tedrows. It is terse, brief, and covers everything. It solves the problem of what actually happened."

—Jeffrey Hart, National Review

"Attorney Richard Tedrow and his son Thomas devastatingly dissect Kennedy's testimony and that of others following the event and counter with contradictory statements made by those involved."

—Ralph Hollenbeck, King Features

"A spate of books on the Chappaquiddick incident have recently appeared. By far the most devastating for the Senator is the book by the Tedrows."

—Saturday Evening Post

THIS WILL DO IT.

Ads to sell books are supposed to go into enormous detail, lavish praise, long descriptions. We'll merely say that Thomas and Richard Tedrow have done an exhaustive job of research, their book is well written, carefully presented, and what you've suspected all along is true. *The 220 pages contain facts never before disclosed.* It's a book you *must* have on your own bookshelf, preferably toward the front.

We don't, of course, expect you to take our word for that. You're invited to examine "Death at Chappaquiddick" for 10 days on an absolute, no-strings-attached money-back guarantee. If you decide the book is not an invaluable investment, just return it within the 10 days, and we'll refund your $9.95 in full, no questions asked.

P.S. Mary Jo Kopechne did not die from drowning.

To: Green Hill Publishers, Inc.
P.O. Box 738, Ottawa, Illinois 61350

Yes. Send me the hard-cover *Death at Chappaquiddick* for 10-day examination. Check or Money Order for $9.95 plus 95¢ postage and handling is enclosed.

Illinois residents add 5% state sales tax

Charge to ☐ Mastercharge ☐ BankAmericard

Account no. _____ Expiration date _____

name _____

address _____

city _____ state _____ zip _____

RMXDAC1

December 1985/Vol. 17, No. 7
reason
Free Minds and Free Markets

features

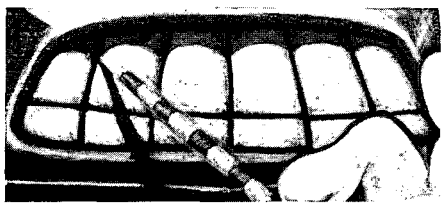
Point blank racism 22

22 **Gun Control: White Man's Law**
William R. Tonso
Why it's *cheap* handguns the controllers want to control—and other revealing facts about one of the liberals' favorite issues.

26 **Desperately Seeking Solutions**
Bill Kauffman
Heavy thinkers in the media are solemnly pronouncing the Democrats brain-dead. Hold the embalming fluid—we detect some movement in the corpse.

31 **From Rovuma to Maputo: Mozambique's Guerrilla War**
Jack Wheeler
There's a violent civil war raging in Mozambique between freedom-loving guerrillas and a Soviet-backed government. And believe it or not, the good guys seem to be winning.

departments


Charity case 41

Trends

16 Mail mavins begin to see the light, a community grows in Brooklyn, Disney dances out of the dark, phone monopolies get disconnected...

Special Annual Book Section

39 **Confessions of a Philistine**
Charles Murray
The author of *Losing Ground* tells all about his reading habits.

41 **Lose a Billion, Get a Check**
Thomas W. Hazlett
Robert Reich's new book tells the story of America's favorite charity.

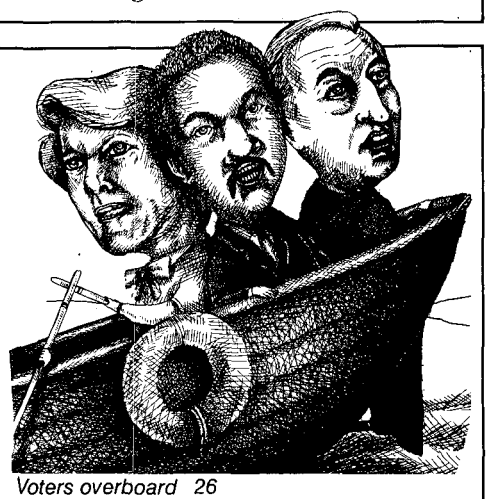
43 **Modesty Blaise: From Underworld Youth to Super Sleuth**
Edward Cline
A female James Bond foils crooks with brains, not looks.

46 **The Changing Faces of Poverty**
Thomas Sowell
Take a good look at the poor. Tomorrow you won't even recognize them.

48 **Entrepreneur-chic**
Norman Macrae
Drucker and Pinchot write better business books. Non-buyer, beware.

50 **Is Freedom a Fatal Flaw?**
Eric Mack
The Right's gloomiest intellectual fears for democracy's future.

52 **Tinkers, Jailers, Soldiers, Skies**
Michael Grossberg
Four new science fiction novels explore the potential for freedom.


Voters overboard 26

10 **Protect Us from the Protectionists**
Editorial/Eric Marti

60 **Gloria Quixote on the Rampage**
Viewpoint/Benjamin Zycher

62 **Fool's Gold**
Investments/Mark Skousen

64 **Hollywood Heretic**
Spotlight/John Dentinger

6 **Letters**
14 **Brickbats**
56 **Rudebarbs**

Cover illustration by Richard Downs

REASON (ISSN 0048-6906) is published monthly except combined June/July issue by the Reason Foundation, 1018 Garden St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101. Second class postage paid at Santa Barbara and additional mailing offices. **Postmaster:** send address changes to REASON, Box 27977, San Diego, CA 92128. **SUBSCRIPTIONS:** $24.00 per year. Outside United States add $8/year for surface; $36/year airmail. Payment from Canada: US dollar postal money orders only. **CORRESPONDENCE:** Send **new subscriptions** and **address changes** (include address label and new address) to REASON, Box 27977, San Diego, CA 92128 619/485-9623 or 566-6947. Allow six weeks. Send **manuscripts** (for return, include SASE), **letters** and **classified ad orders** (with payment) to REASON, BOX 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140-0105. 805/963-5993. **COPYRIGHT © 1985** by the Reason Foundation. All rights reserved. Reproductions or use, without permission, of editorial or graphic content is prohibited. Opinions expressed in signed articles and columns do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or of the trustees, officers, or advisory board of the Reason Foundation. REASON is a registered trademark owned by the Reason Foundation.

Discover the Most Powerful System Available for Increasing Management Skills and Company Profits!

Harvey A. Goldstein, CPA

"(122 Minutes A Month To Greater Profits) is definitely a 'must read' for every small businessperson or anyone contemplating starting a new business venture."

—J. Peter Grace, Chairman, CEO, W.R. Grace & Company
Chairman of the Grace Commission

The 1980's is the decade of the entrepreneur. You are hard-driving, spirited men and women who love what you do. Whether you make money or not is often not important but the love of what you do is the spirit that keeps you creating and driving towards success.

My book "122 Minutes A Month..." provides you a systematic approach to harnessing your entrepreneurial spirit and the keys to even greater success. "122 Minutes A Month..." will give you the best of both worlds—enjoying what you do and MAKING MORE MONEY.

GET MORE CASH—KEEP MORE CASH

"122 Minutes..." eliminates theory and gives you a step-by-step approach to getting more money out of your customers. You will substantially increase your cash flow!

"122 Minutes..." provides fast ways to:

- ★ Control your business expenses and reduce them
- ★ 15 ways to speed your collections
- ● Make your checkbook obsolete
- ★ Prepare for successful loan interviews
- ★ Rent cash for less

NEED TO GET MORE MONEY FROM LENDERS & INVESTORS? HERE'S HOW!

Today, the tool for gaining more money from lenders and investors is a well-designed and well-written business plan. I'll guarantee chapter 9 (25 pages) is all you're going to need to produce a well-written business plan designed to impress your lenders and/or investors so they will give you more money.

PLAN FOR YOUR SUCCESS

You'll learn the seven characteristics of good leadership and you'll discover that success does not depend on you having all of these seven characteristics. Success depends on you and what you do. "122 Minutes.. " is a blueprint for success. Learn the short-cut way to:

- ★ Evaluate your business activities
- ★ Decide where to cut costs
- ★ Monitor your financial success
- ★ React to economic conditions
- ★ Become a better manager
- ★ MAKE MORE MONEY

MUCH MUCH MORE

"122 Minutes A Month..." will show you how, after two weeks, you may be *able to delegate* up to 60% of what you do and know it will get done.

"122 Minutes A Month..." provides you with techniques for training people so they will achieve their highest potential and provide a greater contribution to your business.

"122 Minutes A Month..." offers you the "I-Hate-to-Budget" budget. You will learn "in everyday language" how to prepare and use your company's budget. Your bookkeeper will be able to follow the step-by-step guide and prepare your budget in just a few hours. And only minutes of your time will be involved.

EASY TO READ—EASY TO USE

As J. Peter Grace points out, "(122 Minutes...) provides answers to all those very basic, yet critically important questions facing the small businessperson." Yes, (122 Minutes A Month...) provides *answers*, not rhetorical theory, but solid answers that will help you;

- ★ Understand what the financial numbers really mean
- ★ Avoid a 5-year plan and survive. Yes, we said *avoid* a 5-year plan
- ★ Delegate, delegate, delegate
- ★ Prepare your one-year cash forecast
- ★ Learn how to save time and money in your computer purchase
- ★ Develop power and influence and use it to your advantage
- ★ Set in motion a management information system that gives you a constant flow of information
- ★ Rent cash for less
- ★ Learn about the tax shelter of the future that may finance your business

...and much, much more!

AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE

I was appointed by President Reagan to the National Productivity Advisory Committee and I am a member of California's Small Business Development Board. I have been a practicing CPA for 20 years and I am a frequent speaker and talk show guest.

If you follow my system for business and management success, you will make more money. A lot more!

HERE'S WHAT OTHERS ARE SAYING:

"Practical, innovative techniques for making a company more efficient and profitable."
U.S. NEWS WASHINGTON LETTER

"gives here-and-now advice in a bustling and breezy style..."
The LOS ANGELES TIMES

"...Bravo! My hat is off to you for an ingenious job to fill that big, open void for those in the world of small business."
Jayne D. Spain
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

"I wish I had a chance to read this book 25 years ago when I started as a small business person."
Jack L. Courtemanche, Executive Director
White House Conference on Small Business

"Excellent...entertaining, straightforward and informative..."
Andrew C. Luff, Dean,
School of Business
Towson State University

NO RISK GUARANTEE-30 DAYS

Use *122 Minutes A Month To Greater Profits* for a full 30 days. If you are not completely satisfied, just return the book for a prompt, full refund. You have nothing to lose...30 days to profit.

ORDER TODAY—YOU'LL USE "122 MINUTES A MONTH..." FOREVER!

CALL TOLL FREE: **1-800-892-3600**
OR EXT. 436

Yes! I want more profits...in just 122 Minutes A Month.

Rush me ___ copies of *122 Minutes A Month To Greater Profits* at 18.95, plus $2.50 per book for postage and handling. (California residents add 6% for sales tax.)

I prefer to use my___Visa
___Mastercard___American Express
___Diners Club

Account No. Expiration Date

Name on Card (please print)

Signature

Name

Company, Title

Address

City

State Zip

My check/money order for

$ _____ is enclosed.

Please make checks payable to Granville Publications and mail to:

GRANVILLE PUBLICATIONS
10960 Wilshire Boulevard
Suite 826
Los Angeles, CA 90024

RM

reason

Editor and Publisher Robert W. Poole, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief Marty Zupan
Senior Editors Manuel S. Klausner, Tibor R. Machan
Managing Editor Eric Marti
Assistant Editor Bill Kauffman
Book Review Editor Lynn Scarlett
Art Director Laura Main
Assistant to the Editors Lucy Braun

Contributing Editors
Doug Bandow Bruce Bartlett
Tom Bethell Samuel Blumenfeld
David Brudnoy Joe Cobb
Timothy Condon James Dale Davidson
Thomas Hazlett Michael McMenamin
Alan Reynolds Jeff Riggenbach
Peter Samuel Thomas Szasz
William Tucker Walter Williams

Foreign Correspondents
Tahsin Alam Bangladesh
Stefan Blankertz West Germany
Fred Dekkers Belgium
Theo. E. Brenner Switzerland
Bruce Evoy Canada
Enrique Ghersi Peru
Ole-Jacob Hoff Norway
Hubert Jongen The Netherlands
Henri Lepage France
John C. Loulis Greece
Leon M. Louw South Africa
Julio Marquez Mexico
Antonio Martino Italy
Toshio Murata Japan
M. Perez Spain
Jose Italo Stelle Brazil
Eben Wilson Great Britain
Oded Yinon Israel

Departments
Timothy Condon Taxes
John Dentinger Spotlight
Mark Edward Crane Brickbats
Randall K. Hylkema Rudebarbs
Mark Skousen Investments
Robert W. Poole, Jr., Lucy Braun, Bill Kauffman, and Eric Marti Trends

Advertising Director Rob McGee
Director of Public Affairs Kelly Ross
Circulation Manager Jacqueline Earnshaw
Office Manager Shelly Perry
Administrative Assistant Monica Arellano
Graphic Production The Production Line
Typesetting Jean Graphics

ADVERTISING: For display advertising contact Rob McGee, 1018 Garden St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101. (805) 963-5993. For classified ads, see Classified page, this issue.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Subscribers are members of the Reason Foundation. Membership is $24.00 per year. Outside United States add $8/year for surface; $36/year airmail. Payment from Canada: US dollar postal money orders only. Send orders to REASON, Box 27977, San Diego, CA 92128.

BACK ISSUES: Obtain list from REASON Back Issues, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140. Vols. 1-4 are available on microfilm from University of Southern California Library Micrographics Dept., University Park, Los Angeles, CA 90007. Vols. 5 and up are available from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Indexed in America: History and Life; Historical Abstracts; Political Science Abstracts; Public Affairs Information Services Bulletin; and Public Issues Index.

letters

Slow Minds at Ridgemont High

I want to take this opportunity to applaud Max Hocutt's analysis of the ills of the humanities ("Humanities' Ills," October). The article is a valuable step forward in the discussion of a growing problem. I teach in an institution with a required core in the humanities and have not found it effective in raising the declining interest among students in the humanities. The required core does, however, serve the PR purpose of differentiating us from other state schools in the area and in appealing to parents. This leads me to my only point of disagreement with Hocutt.

The decline of the humanities is not due, in my opinion, primarily to the colleges and universities that fail to teach something useful. Rather it is due to the public school system's failure to educate at those levels that precede college. Notice that the rich (as Hocutt points out) still have an interest in the humanities, at least in part, because they do not attend public schools. Given this premise, the problem cannot be rectified by teaching students how to read and write when they get to college. Here's why.

The humanities at the college level presuppose some literacy and competency in verbal expression. The task then becomes to teach literacy and competency within the various humanistic disciplines themselves (e.g., philosophy, theology, English, economics, etc.). Now suppose that the presupposition is denied. Suppose people arrive at colleges unable to read and write at the needed level. Colleges and universities then have to do what should have been done in high school.

And that is not the worst of the matter. Take an individual who has studied hard to earn a Ph.D. and wishes to actively use that training in class and in research. He takes a job with a college or university in the idealistic hope that he or she will be able to do just that. But instead the individual is now told that he or she will have to do what high school teachers should have been doing. The current glut of Ph.D.s in the humanities may hide the result for a time, but cynicism and a push to get into wholly research institutions are bound to result.

Although colleges and universities can and should do some of the things Hocutt mentions, they cannot ultimately solve the problem (nor, obviously, can the government). To paraphrase Hocutt, if primary and secondary schools can teach students how to read and write, they will know what to take and the value of it when they get to college.

Douglas J. Den Uyl
Bellarmine College
Louisville, KY

Et Tu, Max

In reference to the article "Humanities' Ills," written by Prof. Max Hocutt, in the October issue of REASON, I would like to point out what I consider to be a rather glaring faux pas.

For the chairman of the Philosophy Department (philosophy certainly being one of the humanities) to call Cicero an Emperor of the Roman Empire is to classify himself with those students whom he ridicules for their lack of ability or desire to read the classics. Perhaps he himself, in his student days, was one of those who were assigned "very simply written textbooks" that included only summaries of the ideas contained in the classics, and never got around to reading even a short history of the era of Cicero.

Cicero was many things, including orator, statesman, philosopher, praetor, consul (even assassinated!), but was never an Emperor. In fact, the empire, as such, began in 27 B.C., some 16 years after the death of Cicero.

I am wondering if Professor Hocutt isn't part of the problem rather than being qualified to tell us the answers as to the ills of the humanities?

Charles J. Warren
Mossyrock, WA

Ooops!

No doubt, you have by now received a hundred letters pointing out that I erred in describing Cicero as a Roman emperor. (Actually, he was a *Persian*

letters

emperor.) Very embarrassing, but I have done worse. Once, I described Plato as Aristotle's pupil. (What I clearly meant in both cases was that he should have been.) Now you see why I went into philosophy rather than history.

Max Hocutt
University of Alabama
University, AL

Doing Vigilante Justice

REASON is to be commended for publishing Richard Vigilante's superbly reasoned article on the Strategic Defense Initiative ("A Down-to-Earth Guide to Star Wars," September). He captured the essence of the SDI debate simply and effectively.

The key question in the debate is not to be found in technological reports, but in a determination of whether SDI will enhance deterrence and thereby make nuclear war less likely. Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, the director of the SDI program, has said that in many ways the strategy and politics of SDI are as difficult as the technology. Mr. Vigilante's article demonstrates that, to the layman, the strategy is actually the most important element. Moreover, he explains that strategy in the layman's terms—and thereby does a great service for his readers.

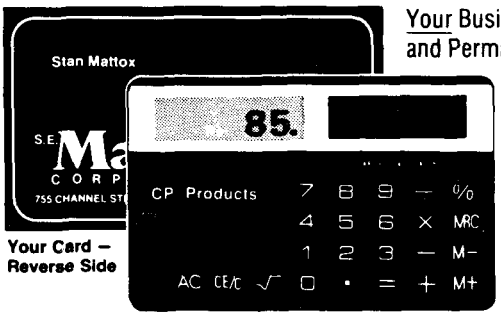
I agree strongly with Mr. Vigilante that we must do more than research SDI. Defensive systems cannot stop anything unless they are *deployed.* We must avoid technological filibuster by moving ahead with the very good defenses we can build now, and not wait for the better defenses which will certainly be possible in the future.

Mr. Vigilante has performed a valuable function by bringing the SDI debate to the reader's level. Those readers must now be convinced of what some of us have been saying for some time: Strategic defense is both feasible and desirable. Common sense will soon make it inevitable as well.

Daniel O. Graham
Lt. Gen., USA (Ret.)
Director, High Frontier
Washington, D.C.

Communicate with REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140. We appreciate receiving your letters typed double-space and limited to 200 words. Letters sent to REASON will be considered for publication (unless otherwise noted) and may be subject to abridgement or editorial comment.

Give a Business Card that Really Counts



Your Card — Reverse Side

Solar Calculator — One Side

Your Business Card Impregnated with Plastic and Permanently Bonded to a Solar Calculator

- YOUR CARD IS NEVER DISCARDED
- NEVER NEEDS BATTERIES
- WEIGHS LESS THAN 1 OZ.
- CREDIT CARD SIZE
- TOUCH ON/AUTO SHUT-OFF
- DELIGHTS CUSTOMERS
- ELEVATES IMAGE
- WAFER THIN
- **ORDER NOW**

THE CP BUSINESS CARD/CALCULATOR

Guarantee — You must be completely satisfied with your CP Business Card/Calculator or you may return the un-used units in the original containers within 15 days for a full refund.

Easy to Order — Check, Money Order, VISA or MasterCard. Enclose number of business cards ordered — plus two. Single orders with various cards may be included to enjoy quantity discounts. Orders shipped prepaid within 5 days. Do not staple or paper clip cards.

ORDER BLANK

TO: **CP PRODUCTS**
Box 431, San Pedro, CA 90733
Phone 213-832-0306

☐1-9 @ $15.00 ea.
☐10-24 @ $12.50 ea.
☐Over 25 @ $10.00 ea.
California Residents add 6-1/2% Sales Tax

Please ship prepaid _____ CP Business Card Calculators.
Enclosed is my check for $ _____
Enclosed are my business cards plus two.

MASTERCARD # _____
VISA Card # _____
My Card Expires: _____
Name: _____
Address: _____
City: _____ State _____ Zip _____

R 12

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse fluently in every situation.

Now you can learn to speak Spanish just as these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmatic Spanish Course. You'll learn Latin American Spanish recorded by native speakers.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far *the most effective way* to learn Spanish at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The course consists of a series of cassettes and accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmatic" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Programmatic Spanish Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I: Basic.** 12 cassettes (17 hr.), manual, and 464-p. text, $135.
☐ **Volume II: Intermediate.** 8 cassettes (12 hr.), manual, and 614-p. text, $120.
(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order, or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn Spanish, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

120 courses in 41 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 12th year.

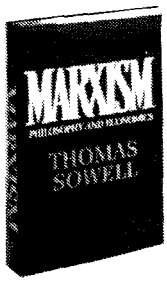
AUDIO-FORUM®
Audio-Forum
Room W19
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

All orders received by Dec. 13 will be delivered before the holidays!

HOW MANY OF THESE BOOKS HAVE YOU READ?

Order them today from Laissez Faire!

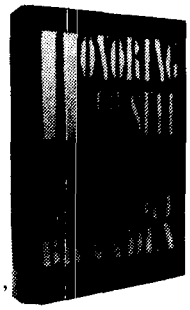
MARXISM: Philosophy and Economics
by Thomas Sowell



Sowell's latest book is a lively and readable survey of Marxism. The last chapter is a devastating critique that takes Marxism apart, refuting one myth after another. 281p.

TS0022 (hardcover) **$15.95**

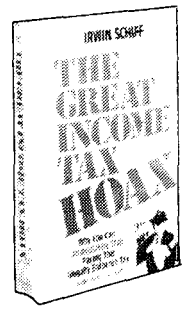
HONORING THE SELF
by Nathaniel Branden



This book is the culmination of Dr. Branden's work in psychology. "I go far beyond anything I have written before in the comprehensiveness with which I address the issues of self-esteem and personal autonomy."

NB0234 (hardcover) **$15.95**

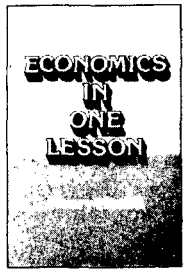
THE GREAT INCOME TAX HOAX
by Irwin Schiff



Schiff is in rare form with this shocking expose. He explains how the hated tax began, why it really is unconstitutional, how you can stop paying it — and how you can stop the IRS from seizing your property. Very controversial!

TX0381 (hardcover) **$17.95**

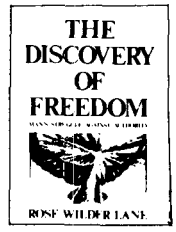
ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON
by Henry Hazlitt



This is the best primer on economic principles ever written, showing the long-run effects of all government intervention on the economy. A true classic refuting every common myth about the necessities of state intervention and the unworkability of laissez faire.

HH0014 (paper) **$6.95**

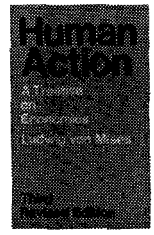
THE DISCOVERY OF FREEDOM
by Rose Wilder Lane



"This is a book of timeless importance. It must be read by anyone who is seriously interested in the heritage of liberty—not just in America, but the world over. And reading it is a joy."
—Edward H. Crane. New edition.

IN0001 (paper) ***$8.95***

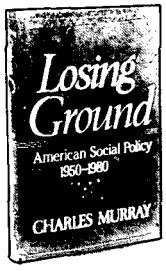
HUMAN ACTION
by Ludwig von Mises



Mises lays the foundation for understanding economics and analyzes market phenomena—capital, interest, money and prices. A systematic study that covers every major topic of the science of economics. Encyclopedic in its defense of the free market.

LV0078 (hardcover) **$37.50**

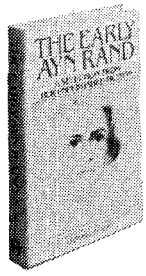
LOSING GROUND: American Social Policy 1950-1980
by Charles Murray



The book that has destroyed the rationale for the welfare state, making it impossible to assume that government programs serve the poor. Concludes that the solution to poverty is not to increase welfare, but to abolish it.

CU1520 (hardcover) **$23.95**

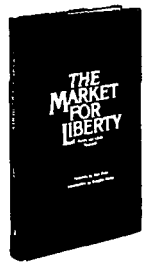
THE EARLY AYN RAND
Edited by Leonard Peikoff



In his introduction Peikoff writes, "What kinds of stories did she tell before she could invent complex plots involving an entire society or even the whole world? What kinds of characters did she write about before she was able to project Howard Roark or John Galt?"

AR0157 (hardcover) ***SALE $9.95***

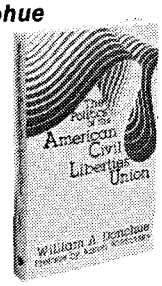
THE MARKET FOR LIBERTY
By Morris and Linda Tannehill



This provocative book projects a totally free society without government and shows how liberty, justice and peace can be maintained by means of the free market. This new edition contains a foreword by Karl Hess and an introduction by Doug Casey.

PL0207 (hardcover) **$14.95**

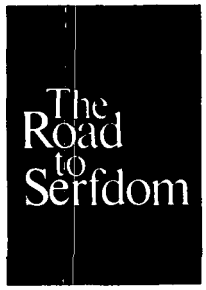
THE POLITICS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
by William A. Donohue



A fascinating historical dissection of the ACLU refuting the myth of its political neutrality. This book should cause many liberals to reexamine some deeply-held beliefs. 359p.

CU1509 (paper) **$14.95**

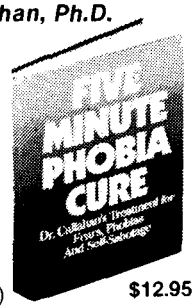
THE ROAD TO SERFDOM
by F.A. Hayek



This timeless classic shows why state planning must undermine both political and economic freedom and end in serfdom. "One of the most important books of this generation."
—Henry Hazlitt

FA0113 (paper) **$7.95**
FA0114 (hardcover) **$12.50**

FIVE MINUTE PHOBIA CURE
by Roger J. Callahan, Ph.D.



"Without having the vaguest idea of how it works or why, after 5 minutes with Roger and his phobia cure, my fear of heights simply vanished."— Karl Hess

CT1559 (hardcover) **$12.95**

TO ORDER CALL TOLL-FREE **1-800-238-2200 ext. 500**

H.L. MENCKEN

Once called "the joyous libertarian," H.L. Mencken was one of the most influential writers of our time. His books and countless essays and letters are filled with buoyancy, wit and a masterful command of what he called "the American language." He has inspired and enchanted one generation after another with his style and views. Discover the fascinating H.L. Mencken today! The most delightful writer you'll ever encounter.

PREJUDICES SERIES

These six volumes were published between 1919 and 1927, when Mencken was at the peak of his career, and had already become a legend. The scope of Mencken's range of interests was vast indeed, and the essays here tackle everything from literature to politics, and from sports to music. Jack Dempsey, Woodrow Wilson, Teddy Roosevelt and Beethoven are all here, but so too are essays on liberty, the nature of government, virtue, journalism, and much, much more. The definitive Mencken collection. 6v, 1764p.

HL0208 (hardcover)
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $135.00
OUR PRICE ONLY $125.00

NOTES ON DEMOCRACY

There is more than just Mencken's keen wit in this lampooning of sacred cows. "I enjoy democracy immensely," he wrote. "It is incomparably idiotic, and hence incomparably amusing." Mencken's little treatise should be required reading for everyone who signs up to vote. 212p.

HL0209 (hardcover) **FORMERLY $26.00**
NOW ONLY $22.50

H.L. MENCKEN SPEAKING

What a delight!—Mencken himself discusses his childhood, career, politicians, reporters, beer and culture. 58 mins.

HL0218 (audio cassette) **$12.95**

THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE

A monument to Mencken's erudition and a delight to read. A life-long lover of the American language and a great American prose stylist writing on one of his favorite subjects. 877p.

HL0296 (paper) **$12.95**

NEW DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS

Mencken's own selections of quotations throughout history, spanning nearly every subject imaginable. Even here his impish wit shines. This is truly a wonderful collection—the joyous companion of a lifetime. 1437p.

HL0214 (hardcover) **$39.95**

IN DEFENSE OF WOMEN

Mencken's outrageous, backhanded defense of women as the "superior sex" is hysterically funny. He ridicules men — and then gives women equal treatment. 218p.

HL0223 (hardcover) **$22.50**

THE AMERICAN SCENE: A Reader

edited by Huntington Cairns

This rich selection made by Mencken's longtime friend covers American life, letters, politics, religion, morals, and more. A sampler of Mencken's wit: "Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard." 542p.

HL0222 (paper) **$6.95**

THE BATHTUB HOAX AND OTHER BLASTS AND BRAVOS

edited by Robert McHugh

A selection of Mencken's essays from the *Chicago Tribune,* in which humor combines with penetrating analysis.

HL0213 (hardcover) **FORMERLY $31.00**
NOW ONLY $22.50

TREATISE ON RIGHT AND WRONG

This is one of Mencken's more systematic and serious efforts: he traces the origins of our moral concepts from ancient times to his own era. Insights abound. 331p.

HL0221 (hardcover) **FORMERLY $32.50**
NOW ONLY $22.50

A CHOICE OF DAYS

This abridgement of Mencken's memoirs captures a bygone era in his ever-fresh and inimitable style. Mencken's zest for life and his wonderful powers of observation make this work one-of-a-kind: buoyant, personal, and charming. 337p.

HL0215 (paper) **$4.95**
HL0216 (hardcover) **$12.95**

A CARNIVAL OF BUNCOMBE

Mencken's iconoclastic views on American politics from the days of Warren Harding through FDR's re-election in 1936. 370p.

HL0217 (paper) **$10.95**

★ ORDER TOLL-FREE! ★
1-800-238-2200 EXT 500

Continental U.S. • 24 hours a day • 7 days a week

OR *Send your order to* **LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS**
Dept. R512 , 532 Broadway, NY, NY 10012

Enclose $2.50 US Mail or $4.00 UPS postage & handling ($2.00 per book on foreign orders.)

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE *If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.*

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Dept. R512 , 532 Broadway, NY, NY 10012

☐ Send me your FREE catalog of over 623 titles.
☐ Check or Money Order ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

CARD NO. EX. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME

STREET

CITY/STATE ZIP

1985 LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Protect Us from The Protectionists

Eric Marti

As all but Rip Van Winkle know, the United States is running a huge deficit in its balance-of-trade account—supposedly justifying this fall's mad rush to protectionism. But when it comes to a balance-of-blame account, we are running a huge surplus. The national mood of scapegoatism grows uglier by day, with more and more fingers pointing at foreigners, particularly the Japanese.

According to the protectionists—primarily big business, big labor, and their allies in big government—"unfair trade practices" on the part of foreign nations (such as restricting US imports and subsidizing their export industries) are harming the national interest of the United States. The ballyhooed trade deficit is Exhibit A in the case against foreign products and their makers. Exhibit B is the "loss" of American jobs.

Both pieces of evidence, however, are artifices. They suit very well the special interests mounting protectionist campaigns that are pro-worker and pro-America in rhetoric but anticonsumer in fact. But they are chock full of holes.

Exhibit A, the trade deficit, is perhaps the most misunderstood of publicly consumed statistics, though it actually tells us nothing important. The official "trade deficit" for 1984 was $123.7 billion. But what does this figure mean? In 1984, Americans spent $123.7 billion more on merchandise from foreign sellers than foreign buyers spent on American goods. But the figure includes *only* "merchandise," a statistical category that excludes "services"—things like transportation, construction, banking, and insurance, which are an increasingly important element in modern economies. In *this* category, US concerns consistently sell more abroad than are bought from abroad ($20 billion more in 1984).

Moreover, the trade deficit by itself doesn't give any clue to which specific goods Americans are buying from foreign producers. If that were shown, we'd see that oil purchases accounted for *nearly half* of the 1984 deficit. (In 1983, oil imports made up $59 billion of that year's $60-billion "trade deficit.")

Closer scrutiny of the trade deficit also reveals that it turns a blind eye to revenues that US firms earn from production and sales operations inside foreign nations. In Japan, for example, US-based firms earned $44 billion in sales last year. Though these revenues are certainly a boon to the firms' US stockholders and employees, they're not counted as export income when it comes to totting up the trade balance. Why? Simply because the data keepers don't define exports that way. When these revenues *are* counted, it turns out that Americans and Japanese, for example, bought about equal amounts of goods from each other last year ($69 billion worth).

Rather than getting all hot and bothered about a statistically inadequate figure like the trade deficit, the public and the politicians should be checking out other information that in fact more accurately portrays the health of the US economy in world markets. In manufactured exports, for example, the US share of the foreign market has increased from 17 to 20 percent over the last six years, surpassing West Germany for first rank on this measure. And the US share of the highly competitive Asian-Pacific market has held steady at 15 percent since 1967, while that total market has grown from $5 billion to $80 billion.

But perhaps the biggest problem with focusing on the trade deficit is that it creates a false impression about the fate of all those US dollars sent abroad for all those goodies. So what if foreigners are selling us more goods than we are selling to them? The "excess" dollars have to come back to the US economy in the end.

This isn't just economic theory. The Japanese, for example, are in fact now investing enormous sums in the United States—largely profits from their US sales of VCRs, cars, stereos, etc. The whole cycle is quite understandable: as the US economy grows at its present fast clip, Americans are purchasing more and more (hence the "trade deficit"); at the same time, rapid US economic growth offers foreigners good investment opportunities and thus attracts huge amounts of foreign capital. How can we lose?

The forces of protectionism think they have the answer: Exhibit B, lost jobs. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), for example—one of the many sponsors of protectionist legislation in Congress—names "the loss of U.S. jobs" as foremost among "the trade deficit's damaging effects." And according to Democratic representative of Indiana Lee Hamilton, for his constituents the trade issue "translates into jobs." Not least because that's what the anti-free-traders keep telling all those constituents out there.

To be blunt, however, the alleged loss of US jobs is pure fiction. On the contrary, the US economy is producing new jobs at a truly phenomenal rate, 8 million since 1980, while every other major Western industrialized nation is actually losing jobs. In some US industries, it's true, jobs are diminishing—particularly factory jobs in the older, smokestack industries. But this decline is greatly offset by the explosion of jobs in newer industries. Unfortunately, the hiring of workers in thousands of personnel offices dispersed throughout the nation doesn't have the visibility—nor the six-o'clock-news appeal—of laid-off steelworkers languishing in the unemployment line.

The trade deficit and job loss, then, are useless as tools for cogent policy

A SPECIAL OFFER TO SERIOUS INVESTORS

who seek better-than-average results year-in and year-out

Value Line's stock advisory service is unique in that it systematically provides these three essentials for rational investing.

1. You Get Perspective

over the broad field of values; (1700 companies, 92 industries).

Value Line through its ranking system, which has been developed over 49 years of testing, brings you objective criteria on where each of the 1700 stocks *currently* stands in relation to all the others in terms of:

a) its probable price performance in the next 12 months.
b) its future safety.

Every group of stocks Value Line rated Highest or Above Average for Probable Market Performance in the Next 12 Months did in fact outperform, as a group, the average of all stocks covered by Value Line in each of the last 19 calendar years.

Note: Not every stock will perform in accordance with its rank in every year. But such a high percentage have in the past, for reasons that are logical and based on earnings, growth rates, and risk, that the probabilities stand in your favor when you line up your stocks with the Value Line ranks.

2. You Get Follow-Up

Value Line follows up. Its ranks are updated *every week* at the latest prices. Every stock is covered in a full-page report every three months on a pre-set schedule. You know exactly when your next report will come in. In addition, if evidence requires, supplementary reports are issued between the times of the quarterly reports. You are never left "hanging."

3. You Get Understanding

Over its 49-year history of appraising stock values, Value Line has developed computer programs based on reported earnings and growth rates that reduce the complicated relationship of prices to earnings, growth and risk, to two straight forward indices:

1) the rank for Probable Market Performance in the Next 12 Months
2) the rank for future Safety

Value Line discloses the methods that have been developed to compute these ranks. It reports regularly on how effectively the ranks have performed in practice.

How It Works

By giving each stock two numerical rankings, based on a scale of 1 (Highest) to 5 (Lowest), Value Line relays its expectations to subscribers quickly and clearly.

You pick, out of the 400 stocks which Value Line currently ranks 1 (Highest) or 2 (Above Average) for Probable Market Performance in the Next 12 Months, those that also meet your standards for safety and current yield. When, and if, any of these stocks fall below your standards, you switch to those that currently conform.

Value Line adds to your perspective by bringing you 22 series of vital financial and operating statistics going back 15 years and estimated 3 to 5 years into the future.

Special Offer

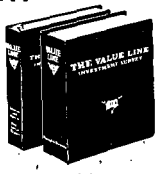
If no member of your household has had a subscription to Value Line in the last two years, you can receive the complete Value Line Investment Survey for the next 10 weeks for only $50 (about half the regular rate). Your trial will include all of the following:

EVERY WEEK a new Summary & Index section (40 pages)...showing the current ratings of 1700 stocks for future relative Price Performance and Safety—together with their Estimated Yields and latest earnings, dividends and P/E data.

EVERY WEEK a new Ratings & Reports section (144 pages)... with full-page analyses of about 130 stocks. During the course of every 13 weeks, new full-page reports are issued on all 1700 stocks, replacing and updating the previous reports which will be sent to you as a bonus.

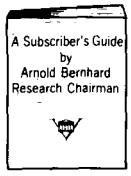
EVERY WEEK a new Selection & Opinion section... with a detailed analysis on an Especially Recommended Stock—plus a wealth of investment background including the Value Line Composite Average of more than 1700 stocks.

Plus This Bonus...



Value Line's complete 2000-page Investors Reference Service, with our latest full-page reports on all stocks under review—fully indexed for your immediate reference—to be updated by new reports sent weekly.

And This Bonus, Too...



The 72-page booklet, "A Subscribers Guide," which explains how even inexperienced investors can apply thousands of hours of professional research to their own portfolios by focusing on two unequivocal ratings, one for Timeliness (Performance in the Next 12 Months), the other for Safety.

Money Back Guarantee

You take no risk in accepting this offer. If you are not completely satisfied with the Value Line Survey, just return the material you have received within 30 days for a full refund of your fee.

Fill in and mail the coupon below. Time may be important. This subscription is tax-deductible if utilized to aid in the management of your investments.

CALL TOLL-FREE:
If you have Master Card, American Express or Visa, phone 1-800-633-2252 (Ext. 281)
24 hrs. 7 days a week.

The Value Line Investment Survey

Value Line, Inc., 711 Third Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017

Dept. 583H01

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

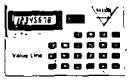
☐ Begin my 10-week trial subscription for $50 to The Value Line Survey (limited once to any household every two years) and send me the two bonuses listed above.

ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION

☐ Begin my 1-Year (52 issues) subscription for $395 and send me the two bonuses listed above. There are no restrictions with this annual subscription.

SPECIAL EXTRA BONUS

A pocket-size CREDIT CARD LCD CALCULATOR given to you when you order The Value Line Investment Survey for one year.



This subscription is tax-deductible and non-assignable. Allow 4 weeks for delivery.

☐ My payment is enclosed. ☐ Please charge to: ☐ American Exp. ☐ Master Card ☐ Visa
Expiration Date _____

Account # _____
(N.Y. residents add sales tax.)

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. No. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

analysis. For purposes of masking problems that are in fact entirely domestic, however, they are great.

For big-business and big-labor protectionists, equating the meaningless trade deficit with some supposed national ill enables them to divert attention from their inability or unwillingness to adapt to new economic conditions—conditions that include, for example, growing competition in basic manufacturing from newly industrialized and industrializing nations abroad and Japan's remarkable achievement in quality control.

For protectionists in government, the trade deficit is a red herring useful in diverting attention from a host of policies that work against US exporters. In this area, public problem number one is the $200-billion-plus federal deficits: to finance its enormous overspending, the federal government borrows—and borrows—pushing up interest rates and, consequently, the foreign demand for dollars. As this rising demand pushes up the value of the dollar against other currencies, US products become more costly to foreign buyers.

And what is the government's solution to this problem? Cutting federal spending? Hah. No way. No—much more to the liking of government meddlers is international fiddling in the currency market to bring the dollar down. The Reagan administration supposedly embarked on this course in September to stave off the rising tide of protectionism in the Congress. But dollar-bashing is widely acknowledged to have no lasting effect in such matters.

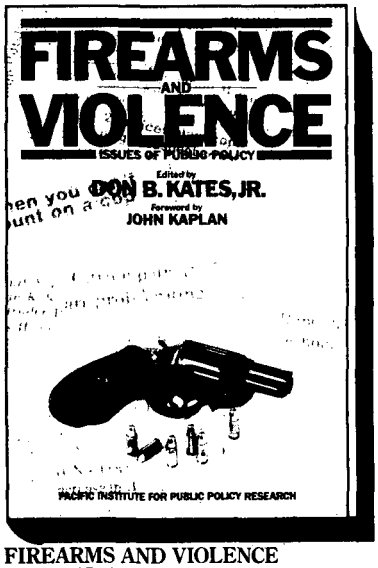
Meanwhile, the forces of protectionism, which are also the sources of big political contributions, continue to have the ear of Congress. What do the protectionists want? In a word, subsidies. Call them tariffs, call them import quotas, call them what you will—all come down to consumers being bled via higher prices so that some few among us won't have to lose any sleep worrying about foreign competition.

Already we're paying mightily for their untroubled dreams. Last year, American car buyers, for instance, shelled out some *$5 billion* more than they would have paid if the Japanese hadn't been pressured into "voluntarily" limiting their car exports. And that's just one for instance. Steel is used throughout the economy. Shoes. Clothing. Finished food products. The list of major and minor items now subject to unfree-trade restrictions or up for the protectionist axe is long indeed.

Such intervention not only raises consumers' costs, chipping away at Americans' living standard (not to mention what it means for the foreign victims of our protectionism). It also is counterproductive: consumers who must pay more for, say, cars must now forgo buying, say, new lawnmowers—and so the US garden-equipment maker lays off workers, who can buy neither new cars nor much of anything else. Multiply these effects throughout the economy, and the true, deleterious effects of protectionism become obvious.

When the rhetoric and obfuscation are finally brushed away, protectionism reveals itself at bottom as a violation of individual rights. Free trade is simply part of freedom generally, the right to free association: individuals have the right to trade peacefully with whomever, and on whatever conditions, they choose. However disguised and in whatever form, trade restrictions abridge that right. Hence the price we pay for protectionism is denominated not only in dollars but in something far more dear—individual liberty. ◻

THE AUTHORITATIVE NEW BOOKS

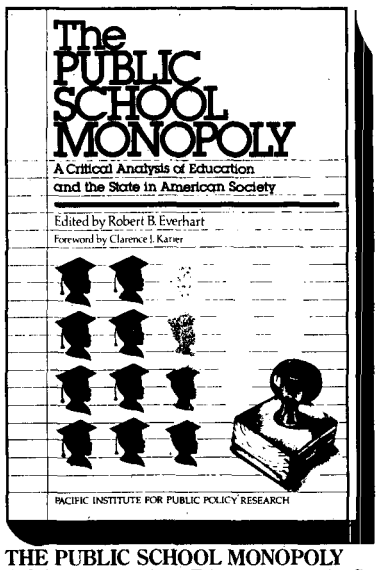


FIREARMS AND VIOLENCE
Issues of Public Policy
Edited by DON B. KATES, JR.
Foreword by JOHN KAPLAN

The continuing escalation of violent crime in the United States has again focused public interest on gun control issues. *Firearms and Violence* provides a frank and well-documented discussion of this bitterly controversial subject, with topics ranging from a comprehensive analysis of the underlying assumptions of gun controls to an in-depth examination of constitutional guarantees for and impediments against effective firearms legislation. *Firearms and Violence* finds that gun controls are ineffective in reducing crime, and that gun prohibition produces an increasingly violent, crime-prone society, to the particular detriment of minorities and the disadvantaged. Instead, the problem of crime will only be resolved through remedying fundamental social, economic, and political factors involved.

"Kates et al. have produced a provocative and powerful volume."
–MARK H. MOORE
Professor of Criminal Justice Policy and Management
John F. Kennedy School of Government,
Harvard University

552 Pages • ISBN 0-88410-923-2 Paper $15.95
ISBN 0-88410-922-4 Cloth $38.00



THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MONOPOLY
A Critical Analysis of Education and the State in American Society
Edited by ROBERT B. EVERHART
Foreword by CLARENCE J. KARIER

The escalating problems of public elementary and secondary education have created the widely recognized need to critically reassess the public school system. This comprehensive book examines the relationship between schooling, education, and the state and how the state, through the regulation of primary and secondary schooling in the United States, restricts educational practice to an extent that is detrimental to the general public and especially to minorities and the disadvantaged. The contributions to this volume are diverse in content and approach, and range from left to right politically in their points of view. Together they provide a unified understanding of the many problems in education and offer new directions for constructive policy reform.

"The Public School Monopoly *is at once comprehensive, scholarly, and deeply provocative. It is by far the most thoughtful examination of the political state and its monopolistic hold on education in the United States that I have ever read.*"
–ROBERT NISBET
Schweitzer Professor Emeritus, Columbia University

608 Pages • ISBN 0-88410-388-9 Paper $13.95
ISBN 0-88410-383-8 Cloth $35.00

To order, or for a catalog of publications, please write:
PACIFIC INSTITUTE, 177 Post Street, Dept. F2,
San Francisco, CA 94108

PACIFIC INSTITUTE
FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

You can make MEGABUCKS or EXTRA-BUCKS without going to work!

STAY HOME AND MAKE MONEY

Up to $2,000 a week . . . and more!

Do You Want To Be Rich?

Is wealth what you really desire? Are you certain? I'm talking about making **serious money,** in **huge chunks.** The kind of rich cash flow that will support very expensive tastes: the **fancy cars, luxurious mink, dream boats,** the kind of home that looks like a **mini-castle,** the **classy clothes, diamond rings** and **Rolex watches** that are genuine, and first-class **vacations** to the hot spots and fun spots of the world.

Or would you just like to have a few hundred extra dollars each week to improve your current lifestyle? Now you can **make almost any sum of money you truly desire,** thanks to a remarkable new and unique manual by one of America's foremost small business/home business management consultants, Russ von Hoelscher. For the past five years, Mr. Hoelscher (the author of over three dozen manuals, courses, and books on business and management subjects) has researched over 9,000 home business opportunities to compile the first complete manual/directory of the most profitable home businesses you can start at home, in your spare time.

Profit Ideas, America's fastest growing entreprenual publishing company has just published his findings in a large hardcover book called ***A Treasury of Home Business Opportunities***—*The Stay Home And Make Money Manual.*

Russ von Hoelscher has applied a rigid set of standards that every home business presented in this wealth-building manual: (1) ***can be started in the home or apartment*** (2) ***is adaptable for one man or woman to successfully operate (3) only requires a limited amount of time*** (4) ***offers above average profits*** (5) ***requires little or no investment.***

Within the 344 pages of this **one-of-a-kind** guidebook you'll learn:

- How Harlan C. of Rochester, NY makes $500 or more weekends, buying and then reselling precious metals that most people throw away or sell cheap . . .
- How Betty B. of Houston, TX made over $77,000 last year on the telephone. A lucrative telemarketing business anyone can start with plenty of desire and very little money . . .
- Why Bess P., a grandmother in Duluth, MN actually turns away business for certain goodies whipped up in her kitchen. "I want to stay part-time," she exclaims, "there is just too much business."
- How thousands of ordinary men and women are earning big bucks at home with their personal computers . . .
- How Jackson W., an entrepreneur in San Francisco made $25,000 profit in one month with an unusual advertising service. Best of all, you can launch this fantastic money maker without risking one red cent of your own money.
- How a friend of the author taught him the secrets of making money buying and selling almost anything. This is the greatest buy low, sell high advice you'll ever receive.

The above are just a few of hundreds of rich *cottage industries* awaiting you in this great manual. Mr. Hoelscher will tell you how to make money teaching others things you know about in at-home workshops and seminars . . . **How to make money with scissors and your daily newspaper; how to make big profits as a print broker; how to turn a video camera into a money machine; profits from the health field, the boom in doll repairs, the truth about multi-level marketing** and how many women and men are earning up to **$1,000,000 yearly** with the hottest, most legitimate products, complete with names and addresses of suppliers.

All of this and still much, much more is now available to you. Believe it or not, there is even a source (a medical laboratory) that will buy "dust" from your vacuum cleaner bags!

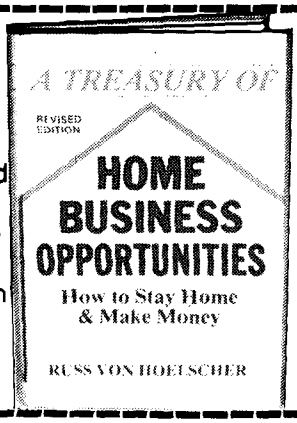
Megabucks or ***extra bucks,*** the choice is yours. The "perfect home business or home businesses (many people operate 2 or 3 at the same time!) is waiting for you.

In addition to **scores of hot, new, moneymaking home businesses** you can launch right now, this self-enriching manual also contains Mr. Hoelscher's learned insights into ***how to make rich profits in mail order***—a step-by-step blueprint, and ***how to profit consistently as a "how to" writer/publisher,*** even if you have no previous writing experience, *plus much, much more.*

No-Risk 30-Day Guarantee

The "Treasury" is so filled with proven home-based moneymaking ideas and plans, we are certain it will be the answer to your quest for personal and financial freedom. The cost is only $14.95 and you risk nothing. If this manual does not completely satisfy you, return it within 30 days for a full refund, no questions asked.

A 344-page hardcover manual loaded with proven money-making ideas and plans on how to start and operate a successful home business in your spare time, with little or no investment.



Mail to: **Profit Ideas, 8361 Vickers, Suite 304, San Diego, CA 92111**

Please rush me a copy of ***A Treasury of Home Business Opportunities—the Stay Home and Make Money Manual*** by Russ von Hoelscher, presenting today's most profitable home businesses. I enclose $14.95 plus $1.00 postage and handling. My money back if I'm not 100% satisfied.

☐ Check ☐ Money Order ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

If using credit card, number: _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Reason

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED OR RETURN WITHIN 30 DAYS FOR A FULL REFUND

brickbats

Howard Fields has had his 1981 Nissan plastered with warning stickers and towed away. He's been suspended from work seven times and was finally fired because he won't obey an unfair regulation. Fields is an autoworker at Ford's Lima, Ohio, plant. Employees with foreign cars are required to park in a back lot more than half a mile away from the factory. Fields filed grievances, but the United Auto Workers declined to back him up. Ford says he can have his job back, but only if he parks in the back lot or buys a domestic car. Fields says he'd rather have his pride than his job. Ford insists it stands for a principle. Others say it stands for Fix Or Repair Daily.

"NEVER COULD FIGGER OUR FARM POLICY, BUBBA—YOU GROW SOMETHIN' THAT DON'T NEED PRICE SUPPORTS, THEY WANNA THROW YOU IN JAIL...."

Joe Kaska, who'd operated a dry cleaning business in Anaheim, California, for 45 years, is being taken to the cleaners. He didn't know he was committing a crime when he canceled his membership in the California Dry Cleaners Association. The membership provided him with a $1,000 bond that state law requires. When he found out, he quickly obtained one, but the state Board of Fabric Care (??) ruled he needed a bond to cover the six months he was without one. No company was willing to issue that bond, and Kaska's offer to post cash for the period was rejected. Then he was arrested by state agents. The charges were finally dropped after Kaska wrote to his assemblyman, who sponsored a bill to abolish the Board of Fabric Care. In a massive lobbying effort aimed at the state's dry cleaners, the Fabric Care board's executive director let the truth slip out. "If the bill is successful, there would be a major increase in the number of dry cleaning establishments," wrote Michael Siegel, who would lose his job if the bill succeeds. The bill is being cleaned and pressed in committee.

The Los Angeles Department of Health Services thought little of spending a couple thousand dollars of taxpayers' money to tell junkies how to keep their needles clean. A brochure, entitled "Shooting Up and Your Health," was prepared by the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic in San Francisco and intended to convince drug users to wash their hypodermics with alcohol in order to reduce the danger of contracting AIDS. Distribution of the pamphlet was halted after two Los Angeles County supervisors objected. One called it "another example of bureaucrats going crazy." An embarrassed Health Department official conceded it was "inappropriate" for the department to tell people the proper way to shoot drugs.

Last summer, New York City was in the midst of one of its worst droughts. Severe restrictions on water use, especially by businesses, were vigorously enforced. So Irving Berkowitz bought 210,000 gallons of water from the city of Peekskill, New York, which had a surplus. He invested $50,000 to buy a barge to bring the water down the Hudson River so he could sell the precious liquid to commercial users. No way, said New York officials. Private sales might create difficulties in monitoring water-restriction regulations. "This is bureaucracy at its worst," said Berkowitz. "The city says it needs water, yet it is illegal for me to deliver it to anyone in the city." Berkowitz fought back by holding a press conference. After a front-page article in the *New York Times*, the city relented, issued a Health Department permit, and Berkowitz was allowed to sell his water.

Federal agencies are required to submit more than 3,000 reports to Congress at a cost of about $240 million a year. The fact that nobody ever reads the reports doesn't matter. For example, the Energy Department must report every year on the nation's coal reserves, even though conservative estimates show they will last for three centuries. The Education Department is obliged to report every two years on the findings of the Office of Education Professional Development (abolished in 1981!). The Office of Management and Budget is trying to eliminate the paper blizzard, but is running into some opposition. Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (R-Conn.) has objected to eliminating the annual report by the Education Department on activities of Centers on Education Media and Materials for the Handicapped even though the budget office says the report provides no useful information that is not reported elsewhere. Weicker suggests this report be written every *third* year. The Great Compromiser.

—Mark Edward Crane

One terrific reason for giving this season...

plus eleven more...

Is this the radiant smile of a woman who's just received a monogrammed potholder? No! Some generous and supremely classy guy or gal has just given this lucky lady the gift of REASON. Eleven issues packed with no-holds-barred reporting and iconoclastic commentary on political and cultural events are hers. Our low holiday rates for a whole year of REASON make it the best bargain of the season. It's a great gift for your friends. (And if you don't have any friends, giving the gift of REASON is a great way to make some!) To place your order today, just dial the toll-free number below. Happy holidays!

DATATEL
#1-800-341-1522
8AM-9PM EASTERN

In Maine call COLLECT
1-800-236-2896

'Tis the season to give Reason!

trends

Maybe the Postman Should Only Ring Once

You'd think that any business that loses over $1 million a day, and stands to lose as much as $500 million in 1985 alone, would be in big trouble. Alas, the US Postal Service is in no danger of folding, but US Snail's consistently pathetic performance is encouraging policy analysts to give respectful attention to an alternative long advanced by free-market economists—postal competition.

A new report by the Norwalk, Connecticut-based market research firm International Research Development (IRD) predicts that "by the mid-1990s, the US Postal Service may be restructured along the lines of the post-divestiture AT&T and privatized à la British Telecom." The IRD study sees the increasingly popular "teleprinting" services such as MCI Mail and ZapMail as the catalysts for change. As the teleprinting market becomes more lucrative, the USPS—which terminated its E-COM electronic mail service in September because of poor business—will redouble its efforts to compete in that market.

"The line between public and private postal enterprise" will disappear, predicts IRD, as a federal agency competes head-to-head with private enterprises. The solution: "The USPS will be privatized in the interest of competition, as it should allay [the private companies'] fears of facing seemingly unlimited US government funds."

Meanwhile, partisans of postal competition have gained an important friend in a very high place—the new director of the Office of Management and Budget, James C. Miller III. No sooner did the president send Miller's name to the Senate for its advice and consent than the *Cato Journal* published a Miller paper arguing for the repeal of the private express statutes, which forbid private competition in the delivery of first-class mail. "The burden of showing that the postal monopoly is necessary or desirable has not been met," asserted Miller. "All the available evidence suggests that competition in the market for first-class letter delivery would create substantial benefits."

Miller has company. In a recent three-part series entitled "The Last Monopoly," the *Christian Science Monitor* noted that the Postal Service is entering "the most perplexing and difficult decades of its existence." Burdened with 746,000 employees making an average wage of $29,000—which is at least 30 percent more than their private-sector counterparts earn—USPS costs are "out of control," notes Washington, D.C., consultant Michael F. Cavanaugh. Cavanaugh predicts that within the next decade the American people "are going to . . . recognize that these costs are out of control and demand that the private express statutes be repealed." (Attention trivia fans: Last year the Postal Service purchased 6,145,850 pounds of rubber bands.)

Dissatisfaction with postal monopolies knows no national boundaries. *Friday Report* newsletter speculates that our neighbors to the north may "turn to privatization, turning Canada Post over to [a] private corporation." And the influential London-based Adam Smith Institute reports that Britain's Post Office, which the Thatcher government is splitting into four separate sections, "is next in line for privatization," probably within the next 18 months.

Stripping monopoly power from a hidebound dinosaur like the US Postal Service will be no mean feat. But as former Postal Rate Commission chairman and Brookings Institution scholar A. Lee Fritschler told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The handwriting is on the wall. It's the last national monopoly."

Transforming a Ghetto "a Different Way"

The centerpiece of the American Dream—owning your own home—remains out of reach for most poor and even middle-income city dwellers. But a community in Brooklyn, New York, is reviving the dream for hundreds of grateful families.

Five years ago, the East Brooklyn neighborhood of Brownsville was just another desolate urban wasteland; if you were lucky, the city placed you in a rat-infested, crime-ridden public housing project. Home ownership was simply not a realistic goal for most residents—until a retired builder with a vision and a neighborhood organization with clout and a heart stepped in.

The builder is I. D. Robbins, a septuagenarian who believes that our devastated inner cities can be rebuilt—and stay rebuilt—if private property ownership were

THE WASHINGTON POST • JAMES M. THRESHER

widely dispersed (a Jeffersonian notion, we might add). The organization is East Brooklyn Churches (EBC), a coalition of 50 area parishes that lured Robbins out of retirement with a chance to build his dream community.

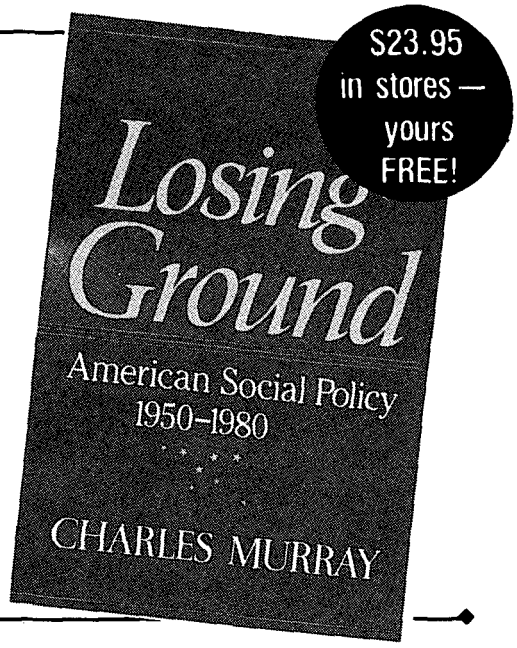
EBC quickly put together an $8-million revolving construction fund, raised primarily from member churches. The City of New York donated 200 acres of abandoned land and threw in $10,000 toward the cost of each house, reducing its price to buyers to just $41,000. The city is also deferring property taxes for 10 years, and the state mortgage authority is providing a special 9.9 percent mortgage to the new home buyers.

The Nehemiah project, as it is called, now consists of over 400 two- and three-bedroom homes, built for $51,000 and sold to families with average incomes of less than $25,000. (In fact, 40 percent of these new homeowners move in from public housing.) When finished, Nehemiah will consist of 1,500 homes gracing those 200 donated acres of land. Two more Nehemiah projects, totaling over 4,000 homes, are in the planning stage.

The upshot of all this? "This community was con-

"Murray...has finally and unanswerably demolished both the moral and the practical claims of the welfare state"

—GEORGE GILDER, *The American Spectator*



This breakthrough book is making conservatives purr and liberals squirm . . .

"Murray's book, relentlessly logical and well-documented, should convince any serious reader that it must at least be squarely faced. . . . The heart of the book, the best and most devastating part, is a long compilation of data meant to prove that the poor have done worse as government programs aimed at them have flowered. It is especially uncomfortable reading because the case is made by comparing blacks to whites. . . . No doubt that racists will love Murray's book. So what? When millions of people are suffering, it seems irresponsible for the left to expend its intellectual energies on these blame-shifting exercises. . . . his is a vision that coheres, as the left's on this subject doesn't any more. . . . This is the problem that liberals must address; Murray's book in effect throws down the gauntlet to them. The standard responses (most of which Murray neatly sets up and demolishes) won't do, because they don't offer real hope of a solution."—*New Republic*

"Irrefutable."—John Chamberlain, syndicated column

"Without bile and without rhetoric, it lays out a stark truth that must be faced."—*Business Week*

"Devastating. . . . Those who already believe welfare is a poverty trap that undermines independence, ambition, and upward mobility will find Charles Murray's new book a powerful and well-documented affirmation of that belief."—*National Review*

"A great book. Others have recently made the same argument. . . . But Charles Murray's version . . . is particularly convincing. He writes with flair, but his tone is steadfastly nonpartisan; he marshals an immense amount of data . . . but never loses the reader in numbers; and he never ventures a conclusion for which he has not laid the most elaborate and convincing groundwork. . . . By the time Mr. Murray gets around to conclusions, even devotedly non-Reaganite yuppies will be ready to agree. . . . James Coleman, the University of Chicago sociologist, is quoted on the dust jacket . . . as saying 'future discussions of social policy cannot proceed without taking the arguments and evidence of this book into account.' Dust-jacket puffery is notorious, but in this case the compliment is, if anything, restrained. Mr. Murray's book is so well wrought that it is likely to dominate those discussions well into the 1980s."—*Wall Street Journal*

"Murray unabashedly asserts that slashing social spending is the greatest favor the Government can bestow upon the poor. . . . Conservatives have made that argument before, but no one has documented it as thoroughly as Murray does."—*Time*

Important for Christians

Is welfarism the way to help the poor? The National Council of Churches and the Catholic bishops think so. This book leaves them with only their biases.

How to get this myth-shattering volume FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, Charles Murray's $23.95 volume, *Losing Ground*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

R 35

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

sidered a graveyard," Rev. Johnny Ray Youngblood of the St. Paul Community Baptist Church told the *Washington Post*. "Nehemiah saved it."

Though there is an element of government involvement in the project, by and large this is a community enterprise. *New York Times* editorial writers, who can usually be counted on to draw the wrong lesson from the simplest stories, have pointed to Nehemiah's success and called for a $150-million federal program modeled on it. But the Reverend Youngblood sees things a bit differently. He told the *Post*, "We're saying to government, 'Let's do it a different way.' Let's not plan housing for Brooklyn from Washington. Let's plan it from Brooklyn."

Righting the Wrong Way to Achieve Civil Rights

One of the most tragic political developments of the last decades is the civil rights movement's abandonment of its goal of securing individual rights under the law and its embrace of big government as the solution to all problems. But the social engineers have hit a few roadblocks lately.

In a recent comparable-worth suit, a federal court rejected statophiles' attempts to saddle the government with responsibility for accomplishing equal pay for jobs of equal worth. The US 9th Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the nation's first comparable-worth suit, which could have cost Washington State taxpayers up to $1 billion and embroiled individual workers of both sexes in bureaucratic nightmares.

The appellate court unanimously overturned a 1983 ruling in which US District Judge Jack Tanner had accused Washington State of discriminating in its pay scales on the basis of sex. Judge Anthony Kennedy, who wrote the appeals court's decision, noted that a salary gap between men and women is not proof of discrimination. Judge Kennedy added that the court found "nothing in the language of Title VII (of the Civil Rights Act) or its legislative history to indicate Congress intended to abrogate fundamental economic principles, such as the laws of supply and demand, or to prevent employers from competing in the labor market."

The Reagan administration agrees. In this case (unlike a lot of other areas) supporting its avowed free-market ideals, the administration insists that the price of labor, like the price of other goods and services, should be left to individuals and groups in the marketplace. The anti-individualist conclusion of comparable-worth theory—that some central planning commission should overrule the signals of marketplace pricing—has prompted Reagan to call comparable worth "a cockamamie idea...(that) would destroy the basis of free enterprise." His assistant attorney general, William Bradford Reynolds, adds that comparable worth "makes a mockery of the ideal of pay equity, advancing instead the thesis that equal pay should be provided to men and women in remarkably different jobs on the basis of a subjective evaluation by some 'expert' that the two jobs can be called 'comparable.'"

Individual merit also won a couple of rounds in the communications field. A federal appeals court recently ruled that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has no authority to favor women when deciding who will receive FM radio licenses. Since 1978, the FCC has been giving preference to applications in which women have agreed to be part of the daily management of the station. But no more. The FCC, wrote Judge Edward Tamm, does not have a "license to conduct experiments in social engineering."

The court's conclusion is apparently shared by the commission itself. Several weeks before the ruling, the FCC had decided not to favor women in awarding licenses for low-power television stations and TV distribution systems. FCC Chairman Mark Fowler has spoken out against such discrimination several times in the past, and Mimi Dawson, the only woman on the commission, says she is "not a fan of preferences of any type."

Finally, a recent change in policy at Disneyland shows that, in a free market, private enterprises have ample incentive not to discriminate. The *Los Angeles Times* reports that Disneyland administrators have reversed a 28-year-old policy prohibiting members of the same sex from dancing together in Videopolis, the park's teen dance club. Patrons, especially young girls, had been expressing their objections to the policy. "We have always said no (to same-sex dance partners)," explained Disneyland spokesman Al Flores, "but we changed our minds....We try to be responsive to feedback we get from our guests."

Not surprisingly, customer dissatisfaction was the strongest factor in reshaping Disneyland's policy. So the customers, not civil-rights bureaucrats, determined what "fair" policy would be. A small example, but not without a moral for civil-rights advocates.

Launching Competition into International Orbit

The first real blow fell on the international telecommunications cartel when a US government agency recently gave the go-ahead for several communications satellites to compete with those of the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (Intelsat).

Under a 20-year-old agreement, Intelsat's consortium of 109 members—national telecommunications systems, mostly state-owned—operates a network of satellites for international communications. Part of that agreement had been that no member nation would allow its citzenry to put up private satellites to compete in this market. But last year, President Reagan determined that this policy was not in the national interest and ordered that Intelsat's market be opened—if just by a crack—to competition.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), not one to blanch at the prospect of competition, in August approved three private operators' applications to serve the international market—RCA, International Satellite, and Pan American Satellite. "[This] limited injection of satellite facilities competition into international telecommunications," noted the FCC, "should bring to the world some of the dynamism that characterizes the U.S. domestic data processing and telecommunications sector."

So far, the private operators are limited to providing communications services that do not interconnect with the national phone systems of Intelsat member nations. This restricts them primarily to transmitting data (rather than voice), electronic document facsimiles, video images, and teleconferences for large corporate users.

As the *New York Times* noted in an editorial supporting the move toward competition, it can be expected to bring down the prices faced by international communications users and to "stimulate the development of new technology and new services." Even the *Times* is getting with it on the benefits of the market. The new move is "only a small first step," observed the editors, and the encore should be a "broad deregulation strategy" to force other national governments—most of which remain adamantly opposed to the US deregulatory move—to get in line with the competitive spirit.

With the wedge of competition now driven into the international market, they may have no choice.

For-Profit Hospitals Running the Doomsayers Ragged

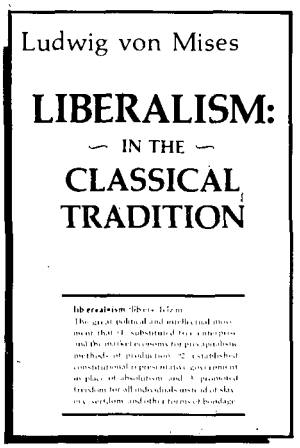
Some critics of private enterprise are never satisfied. And so it is that for-profit hospitals are now under fire for doing precisely what skeptics a few years ago charged they'd never do. But, reading between the lines of a spate of recent newspaper reports, one can gain a less-than-dismal prognosis for the new breed of hospitals.

When for-profit hospitals began shaking the medical and political establishment a few years ago with a rash of acquisitions and construction, critics raised a hue and cry. If the privatization went too far, they complained, the health-care system would be in deep trouble. For surely profit-hungry hospitals wouldn't take on the high-cost but vital work of running teaching hospitals. Such hospitals have high costs because they train doctors, take on the most difficult and complex cases, and treat many poor patients. But for-profits, went the argument, would maximize their profits by concentrating on low-cost patients.

This cream-skimming argument has gone sour. The most dramatic counterexample is the work of one of the leading for-profit chains, Humana, Inc., in Louisville, where the firm is underwriting experimental use of the now-famous Jarvik artificial heart. But this is not an isolated case. The for-profits are getting into the business of running teaching hospitals to such an extent that the *Los Angeles Times* recently identified it as a new trend.

The University of Louisville leased its teaching hospital to Humana, Inc. In

"With characteristic clarity and thoroughness, Mises here expounds and extends the political and economic principles of the true liberalism that evolved in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An indispensable book." —HENRY HAZLITT
author of *ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON*



"I heartily recommend Liberalism, not only as the best introduction to Mises' writings, but also as the finest exposition of classical liberalism —the philosophy of free men, free markets, and limited government."
—ROBERT HESSEN
Senior Research Fellow Hoover Institution

Ludwig von Mises' LIBERALISM: In The CLASSICAL TRADITION

lib er.al.ism (lĭb ĕr.ăl.ĭz´m), *n.*
The great political and intellectual movement that (1) substituted free enterprise and the market economy for precapitalistic methods of production, (2) established constitutional representative government in place of absolutism, and (3) promoted freedom for all individuals instead of slavery, serfdom, and other forms of bondage.

ORDER NOW. *USE THE POSTAGE-PAID RESPONSE CARD IN THIS MAGAZINE.*

ONLY $9.95 FROM LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Order LV0100 for $9.95,
plus $1.00 postage & handling
($2.00 foreign orders).

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Available from: LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. RB-1
532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012
"World's Largest Selection of Books on Liberty"
USE THE ORDER FORM IN THIS MAGAZINE

★ **ORDER TOLL-FREE** ★
1-800-238 2200 EXT 500
Continental U.S. • 24 hours a day • 7 days a week

Wichita, Oklahoma City, Denver, and Omaha, teaching hospitals have been sold to private chains, and negotiations for similar sales are under way for two hospitals in Washington, D.C. Meanwhile, construction of a new for-profit teaching hospital is planned as a joint enterprise by the University of Southern California and National Medical Enterprises.

Interestingly, in view of the original worry, it seems that profit-seeking entrepreneurs are often attracted to teaching hospitals because they can actually have a *good* bottom-line performance. A Johns Hopkins University study published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* noted that two recently sold or leased teaching hospitals had reported a $30-million surplus in 1984, and this money was used to improve medical education and other programs.

The same study—and this part was widely reported in the media—worried that the new takeovers of teaching hospitals is a threat to the future of their traditional functions. But as Martin Tolchin noted in the *New York Times*, "another study reported in the same journal concluded that the takeovers reflected the hospital chains' commitment to teaching, research, and indigent care [and] a third study found that any conclusions on the effects of the takeovers were premature."

One prevalent criticism is that the private teaching hospitals will refuse to treat poor people who, according to other widely heralded reports, are increasingly being "dumped" on teaching hospitals. Critics acknowledge that when a profit-seeking company buys a teaching hospital, the previous owners' profit from the sale is placed in an endowment fund used to finance "traditional social responsibilities." But they claim the endowments will run dry in 10 or 15 years.

Michael Bromberg, executive director of the Federation of American Hospitals, which represents private hospitals, offers a solution. As he pointed out to Tolchin, "eighty-five percent of our profits are plowed back into these hospitals." In addition, he noted, hospital trustees who choose to sell to a private firm can guarantee that their hospitals continue to fund care for the poor, research, and other activities by specifying this in the sales contract.

Concluded Bromberg, "These teaching hospitals are our flagships. We're buying them to attract the best doctors."

It'll be interesting to see what the skeptics come up with next.

Hello. This Is Competition. We're on the Line Now, Monopoly

How many phone companies does New York City have? Well, the *de jure* monopoly provider is New York Telephone, but *de facto* competition is bringing the city many more phone-service operators. They're called "shared communications" providers, and typically they operate private phone systems in large office buildings and complexes. Throughout the United States, these private phone companies are growing in number—and the threat of competition from them has the local phone monopolies up in arms.

In a shared communications system, the various phones, or extensions, in the building or complex are connected to a central switchboard, which is in turn connected to a number of outside phone lines. Such a system needs fewer outside phone lines than internal extensions, because only some of the phones are being used at any one time. Customers save money by sharing the cost of the outside lines. It can cut the basic monthly service fee by as much as 30 percent compared to the local phone company's rate.

The *New York Times* recently reported that shared communications are planned or in place in 150 big office buildings, including 12 in New York City. The telecommunications consulting firm Telestrategies, Inc., of McLean, Virginia, the *Times* noted, predicts that by 1995 "the figure will rise to 15,000, and the industry itself will be a $10 billion business."

Local phone monopolies are so worried that in Florida, for example, they have already persuaded the government to ban such arrangements in that state. And in Arkansas, the *Times* reported, anyone who installs such a system "must register as a phone company and be subject to regulation." But 11 states—including New York—have opted for the consumer benefits of competition and are permitting shared systems *without* regulation. The remaining 37 states have not yet ruled on the matter.

Shared systems are just one of a growing number of innovations in the increasingly deregulated communications industry. Another recent development that we're certain to hear more about is car-phone answering service. With more and more US towns and cities getting cellular phone systems—the newest form of mobile telecommunicating, only recently approved by the federal government though the technology has been around for more than a decade—many cellular customers will be needing an answering service for their car phones. Wang Laboratories, the computer manufacturer, has developed the technology for this service and is offering it to customers of the Boston-area Cellular One system. Unattended car phones can answer calls, store messages, and automatically notify the customer—on a beeper or at another telephone—and the customer can retrieve messages remotely via any push-button phone.

In the new communications industry, innovations such as these are certain to proliferate. If the regulators stay out of the way, it means that more and more phone consumers needn't be at the mercy of a monopoly.

Milestones

■*Fortunate ruling.* The California Supreme Court has struck down several city ordinances that prohibited fortune-telling. Crystal-ball gazers are "communicating opinions which, however dubious, are unquestionably protected by the Constitution," observed Justice Stanley Mosk. The good judge pointed out that laws against fraudulent fortune-telling remain in effect. Hmm.

■*Teaching freedom in Iowa.* Two small church schools in Des Moines, Iowa, have filed a lawsuit charging that state educational standards violate their freedom of religion.

—Robert W. Poole, Jr, Lucy Braun, Bill Kauffman, and Eric Marti

PALO ALTO BOOK SERVICE

200 California Avenue Palo Alto, CA 94306
(415) 327-7781

Tyranny and Resistance

TO BUILD A CASTLE: My Life as a Dissenter
by Vladimir Bukovsky

Bukovsky dared to defy the Soviet system by demanding that the rights promised in the Soviet Constitution actually be respected. Before Western protests secured his freedom, he suffered more than a decade in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals—yet he emerged with his spirit unbroken and his passion for liberty unquenched. In these pages, you will meet one of the most courageous and deeply principled men of our century

Publisher's price: $17.50 ..... Book Service: $15.00

MEMOIRS
by Petro G. Grigorenko

General Grigorenko is the highest ranking soldier ever imprisoned and exiled for denouncing the Soviet system. His memoirs provide vivid portraits of the Soviet ruling elite and subtle insights into the totalitarian mentality.

Publisher's price: $19.95 ..... SPECIAL: $12.95

RED CARPET
by Joseph Finder

Lenin predicted that capitalists would compete to sell Russia the rope to hang them. *Red Carpet* is the story of how five leading American businessmen—Armand Hammer, W. Averell Harriman, Cyrus Eaton, David Rockefeller, and Donald Kendall—have worked tirelessly to fulfill Lenin's prophecy. A gem of a book, magnificently well written.

Publisher's price: $16.95 ..... SPECIAL: $13.25

A NOBLE TREASON
by Richard Hanser

When Sophie and Hans Scholl launched a war of ideas against the Hitler regime, they knew they were risking their lives. But they refused to sanction evil by remaining silent. The story of their incredible bravery and loyalty to values is told in one of the most beautifully written and emotionally powerful books you will ever read.

Publisher's price: $12.50 ..... Book Service: $10.00

SOVIET DISSIDENTS
by Joshua Rubenstein

The rulers of the Soviet Union control the guns and tanks but the real source of their power is public acquiescence—the willingness of most people to submit to tyranny. This book celebrates the courageous few who have chosen to resist.

Paperback: $6.95 (We will supply the hardcover edition for the price of the paperback as long as our supply lasts.)

One of a Kind

QUOTESMANSHIP
by Paul F. Boller, Jr.

Quotesmanship, as Prof. Boller defines it, is the polemical use of quotations as missiles—guided and misguided—in intellectual battle. He illustrates the full range of weapons at hand: the esteemed authority quotes, the out-of-context quotes, the spurious quotes, quotes from an adversary's old opinions to discredit his new ones, quoting your opponents to bolster your own viewpoint, and countless other variations. His book is an insightful, amusing review of intellectual warfare in America since the 1930's.

Publisher's price: $15.00 ..... Book Service: $12.95

THE AYN RAND LETTER

In her *Letter*, published from 1971 to 1976, Ayn Rand challenged the philosophical foundations of both contemporary liberalism and religious conservatism. She unmasked the premises underlying behaviorism, egalitarianism, censorship, and anarchism, and she argued that an explicit rational philosophy is essential for the preservation of individual liberty. 81 issues, complete and unabridged, in a 400-page bound volume $29.95

THE OBJECTIVIST

Articles by Ayn Rand and other contributors on many aspects of ethics, economics, politics, psychology, literature and art. Some highlights include "The Age of Envy," "The Left: Old and New," and "Of Living Death," a reply to the Pope's ban on contraception and abortion. 69 issues, published from 1966 to 1971, complete and unabridged, in a 1,120-page bound volume $39.95

EXTRA BONUS: If your order totals $50 or more, you will receive a free hardcover copy of Leonard Peikoff's book, THE OMINOUS PARALLELS: The End of Freedom in America. (list price: $16.95) Introduction by Ayn Rand. This offer expires December 31, 1985.

___ To Build A Castle	$15.00	_____
___ Memoirs - Grigorenko	12.95	_____
___ Red Carpet	13.25	_____
___ A Noble Treason	10.00	_____
___ Soviet Dissidents	6.95	_____
___ Quotesmanship	12.95	_____
___ The Ayn Rand Letter	29.95	_____
___ The Objectivist	39.95	_____
	TOTAL	_____
	Sales Tax	_____
	Postage	_____
	Total Enclosed	$_____

___ The Ominous Parallels
(free if order is $50 or more)

Full remittance must accompany all orders. Add $2.50 for postage within U.S.; $3.50 to all others. Make check or money order payable to PALO ALTO BOOK SERVICE. California residents, add 6 percent sales tax. Please pay in U.S. funds only. Send to:

_____

_____

_____

City State Zip

Send me your free catalogues:
( ) The Works of Ayn Rand
( ) Free Market Economics
( ) General—Books & Cassettes

PALO ALTO BOOK SERVICE
200 California Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94306

Gun Control: White Man's Law

by **William R. Tonso**

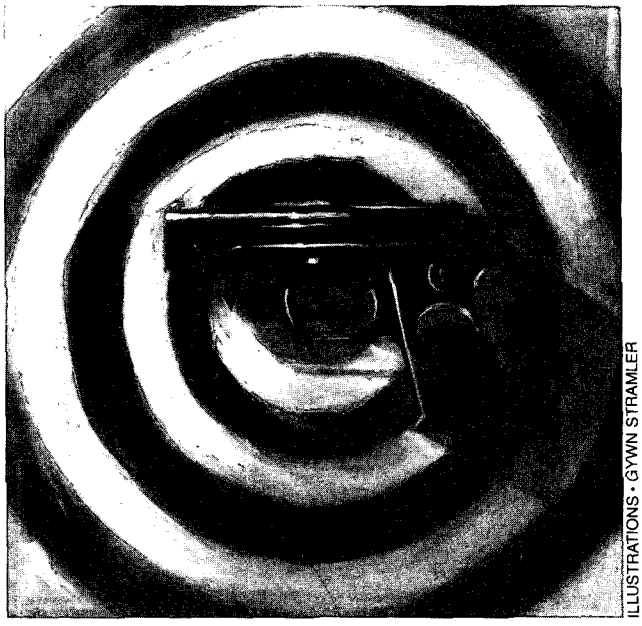
Gun control is really people control. And guess which people the power elite wants to control.

Chances are that you've never heard of

General Laney. He hasn't had a brilliant military career, at least as far as I know. In fact, I'm not certain that he's even served in the military. General, you see, isn't Laney's rank. General is Laney's first name. General Laney does, however, have a claim to fame, unrecognized though it may be.

Detroit resident General Laney is the founder and prime mover behind a little-publicized organization known as the National Black Sportsman's Association, often referred to as "the black gun lobby." Laney pulls no punches when asked his opinion of gun control: "Gun control is really race control. People who embrace gun control are really racists in nature. All gun laws have been enacted to control certain classes of people, mainly black people, but the same laws used to control blacks are being used to disarm white people as well."

Researchers found no proof that cheap handguns are used in crime more often than expensive handguns. One is led to the conclusion that cheap handguns are threatening primarily because minorities and poor whites can afford them.



ILLUSTRATIONS • GYWN STRAMLER

Laney is not the first to make this observation. Indeed, allied with sportsmen in vocal opposition to gun controls in the 1960s were the militant Black Panthers. Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver noted in 1968: "Some very interesting laws are being passed. They don't name me; they don't say, take the guns away from the niggers. They say that people will no longer be allowed to have (guns). They don't pass these rules and these regulations specifically for black people, they have to pass them in a way that will take in everybody."

Some white liberals have said essentially the same thing. Investigative reporter Robert Sherrill, himself no lover of guns, concluded in his book *The Saturday Night Special* that the object of the Gun Control Act of 1968 was black control rather than gun control. According to Sherrill, Congress was so panicked by the ghetto riots of 1967 and 1968 that it passed the act to "shut off weapons access to blacks, and since they (Congress) probably associated cheap guns with ghetto blacks and thought cheapness was peculiarly the characteristic of imported military surplus and the mail-order traffic, they decided to cut off these sources while leaving over-the-counter purchases open to the affluent." Congressional motivation may have been more complex than Sherrill suggests, but keeping blacks from acquiring guns was certainly a large part of that motivation. (Incidentally, the Senate has passed legislation that would repeal the more-onerous provisions of the 1968 act. The bill faces an uncertain future in the House of Representatives.)

There is little doubt that the earliest gun controls in the United States were blatantly racist and elitist in their intent. San Francisco civil-liberties attorney Don B. Kates, Jr., an opponent of gun prohibitions with impeccable liberal credentials (he has been a clerk for radical lawyer William Kunstler, a civil-rights activist in the South, and an Office of Economic Opportunity lawyer), describes early gun control efforts in his book *Restricting Handguns: The Liberal Skeptics Speak Out.* As Kates documents, prohibitions against the sale of cheap handguns originated in the post–Civil War South. Small pistols selling for as little as 50 or 60 cents became available in the 1870s and '80s, and since they could be afforded by recently emancipated blacks and poor whites (whom agrarian agitators of the time were encouraging to ally for economic and political purposes), these guns constituted a significant threat to a southern establishment interested in maintaining the traditional class structure.

Consequently, Kates notes, in 1870 Tennessee banned "selling all but 'the Army and Navy model' handgun, i.e., the most expensive one, which was beyond the means of most blacks and laboring people." In 1881, Arkansas enacted an almost identical ban on the sale of cheap revolvers, while in 1902, South Carolina banned the sale of handguns to all but "sheriffs and their special deputies—i.e., company goons and the KKK." In 1893 and 1907, respectively, Alabama and Texas attempted to put handguns out of the reach of blacks and poor whites through "extremely heavy business and/or transactional taxes" on the sale of such weapons. In the other Deep South states, slavery-era bans on arms possession by blacks continued to be enforced by hook or by crook.

The cheap revolvers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were referred to as "Suicide Specials," the "Saturday Night Special" label not becoming widespread until reformers and politicians took up the gun control cause during the 1960s. The source of this recent concern about cheap revolvers, as their new label suggests, has much in common with the concerns of the gun-law initiators of the post–Civil War South. As B. Bruce-Briggs has written in the *Public Interest*, "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the 'Saturday Night Special' is emphasized because it is cheap and is being sold to a particular class of people. The name is sufficient evidence—the reference is to 'niggertown Saturday night.' "

Those who argue that the concern about cheap handguns is justified because these guns are used in most crimes should take note of *Under the Gun: Weapons, Crime, and Violence in America*, by sociologists James D. Wright, Peter H. Rossi, and Kathleen Daly. The authors, who undertook an exhaustive, federally funded, critical review of gun issue research, found *no conclusive proof that cheap handguns are used in crime more often than expensive handguns.* (Interestingly, the makers of quality arms, trying to stifle competition, have sometimes supported bans on cheap handguns and on the importation of cheap military surplus weapons. Kates observes that the Gun Control Act of 1968, which banned mail-order gun sales and the importation of military surplus firearms, "was something domestic manufacturers had been impotently urging for decades.") But the evidence leads one to the conclusion that cheap handguns are considered threatening primarily because minorities and poor whites can afford them.

Attempts to regulate the possession of firearms began in the northern states during the early part of the 20th

New York's trend-setting Sullivan Law, enacted in 1911, required a police permit to own a handgun. Southern and eastern European immigrants, considered racially inferior, found it almost impossible to obtain permits.

century, and although these regulations had a different focus from those that had been concocted in the South, they were no less racist and elitist in effect or intent. Rather than trying to keep handguns out of the price range that blacks and the poor could afford, New York's trend-setting Sullivan Law, enacted in 1911, required a police permit for legal possession of a handgun. This law made it possible for the police to screen applicants for permits to possess handguns, and while such a requirement may seem reasonable, it can be and has been abused.

Members of groups not in favor with the political establishment or the police are automatically suspect and can easily be denied permits. For instance, when the Sullivan Law was enacted, southern and eastern European immigrants were considered racially inferior and religiously and ideologically suspect. (Many were Catholics or Jews, and a disproportionate number were anarchists or socialists.) Professor L. Kennett, coauthor of the authoritative history *The Gun in America*, has noted that the measure was designed to "strike hardest at the foreign-born element," particularly Italians. Southern and eastern European immigrants found it almost impossible to obtain gun permits.

Over the years, application of the Sullivan Law has become increasingly elitist as the police seldom grant handgun permits to any but the wealthy or the politically influential. A beautiful example of this hypocritical elitism is the fact that while the *New York Times* often editorializes against the private possession of handguns, the publisher of that newspaper, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, has a hard-to-get permit to own and carry a handgun. Another such permit is held by the husband of Dr. Joyce Brothers, the pop psychologist who has claimed that firearms ownership is indicative of male sexual inadequacy.

Gun-control efforts through the centuries have been propelled by racist and elitist sentiments. Even though European aristocrats were members of a weapons-loving warrior caste, they did their best to keep the gun from becoming a weapon of war. It was certainly all right to kill with civilized weapons such as the sword, the battle ax, or the lance; these were weapons that the armored knights were trained to use and which gave them a tremendous advantage over commoners who didn't have the knights' training or possess their expensive weapons and armor. But guns, by virtue of being able to pierce armor, democratized warfare and made common soldiers more than a match for the armored and aristocratic knights, thereby threatening the existence of the feudal aristocracy.

As early as 1541, England enacted a law that limited legal possession of handguns and crossbows (weapons that were considered criminally dangerous) to those with incomes exceeding 100 pounds a year, though long-gun possession wasn't restricted—except for Catholics, a potentially rebellious minority after the English Reformation. Catholics couldn't legally keep militia-like weapons in their homes, as other Englishmen were encouraged to do, but they could legally possess defensive weapons—except, as Bill of Rights authority Joyce Lee Malcolm has noted in her essay "The Right to Keep and Bear Arms: The Common Law Tradition," during times "of extreme religious tension."

According to Malcolm, when William and Mary came to the English throne, they were presented with a list of rights, one of which was aimed at staving off any future attempt at arms confiscation—"all Protestant citizens had a right to keep arms for their defence." England then remained free of restrictive gun legislation until 1920 when, even though the crime rate was very low, concern about the rebellious Irish and various political radicals ushered in today's draconian gun laws. (Colin Greenwood, former superintendent of the West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police, has discovered in his research at Cambridge University that the English gun crime rate is significantly *higher* now than it was before that nation's strict gun laws were enacted.)

Alas, the European aristocracy wasn't able to control gun use, and at least in part, the spread of effective firearms helped to bring down aristocracy and feudalism. By contrast, in 17th-century Japan the ruling Tokugawa Shogunate was able to establish a rigidly stratified society that deemphasized the development of guns and restricted arms possession to a warrior aristocracy, the *samurai*. When Commodore Perry "reopened" Japan to the rest of the world in the middle of the 19th century, few Japanese were familiar with guns (the sword was the most honored weapon of the samurai) and the most common guns were primitive matchlocks similar to those introduced to Japan by the Portuguese in the middle of the 16th century. As post-Perry Japan modernized and acquired a modern military, it also quickly developed modern weaponry. But a citizenry without a gun-owning tradition was easily kept in place in a collectivist society where individuals were more susceptible to formal and informal social controls than are westerners.

The preceding are just samples of the political uses to which gun controls have been put throughout the world.

"Some very interesting laws are being passed," noted Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver in 1968. "They don't name me; they don't say, take the guns away from the niggers. They have to pass them in a way that takes in everybody."

Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and South Africa are modern examples of repressive governments that use gun control as a means of social control. Raymond G. Kessler, a lawyer-sociologist who has provided some of the most sociologically sophisticated insights into the gun control issue, suggests in a *Law and Policy Quarterly* article that attempts to regulate the civilian possession of firearms have five political functions. They "(1) increase citizen reliance on government and tolerance of increased police powers and abuse; (2) help prevent opposition to government; (3) facilitate repressive action by government and its allies; (4) lessen the pressure for major or radical reform; and (5) can be selectively enforced against those perceived to be a threat to government."

Of course, while many gun control proponents might acknowledge that such measures have been used in the ways Kessler lists, they would deny that the controls that they support are either racist or elitist, since they would apply to everybody and are aimed at reducing violence for everybody. Yet the controls that they advocate are in fact racist and classist in *effect*, and only the naive or the dishonest can deny their elitist *intent*.

Kessler has also written that while liberals are likely to sympathize with the poor and minorities responsible for much of this nation's violent crime, when they are victimized themselves, "or when they hear of an especially heinous crime, liberals, like most people, feel anger and hostility toward the offender. The discomfort of having incompatible feelings can be alleviated by transferring the anger away from the offender to an inanimate object—the weapon."

A perfect example of this transference is provided by Pete Shields, the chairman of the lobbying group Handgun Control Inc., whose son was tragically murdered with a handgun by one of San Francisco's Zebra killers—blacks who were killing whites at random in the early 1970s. This killing was carried out by a black man who was after whites—his own skin color and that of his victim were important to the killer—but in his grief, the white liberal father couldn't blame the criminal for this racist crime. So the gun was the culprit. The upshot is that we now have Handgun Control Inc., with its emphasis on the *weapon* used to commit a crime rather than the criminal. Yet blacks and minorities, who would be prevented from defending themselves, are likely to be harmed most by legislation proposed by Handgun Control Inc., the National Coalition to Ban Handguns, and other proponents of strict handgun controls.

Since the illegal possession of a handgun (or of any gun) is a crime that doesn't produce a victim and is unlikely to be reported to the police, handgun permit requirements or outright handgun prohibitions aren't easily enforced. And as civil liberties attorney Kates has observed, when laws are difficult to enforce, "enforcement becomes progressively more haphazard until at last the laws are used only against those who are unpopular with the police." Of course minorities, especially minorities who don't "know their place," aren't likely to be popular with the police, and these very minorities, in the face of police indifference or perhaps even antagonism, may be the most inclined to look to guns for protection—guns that they can't acquire legally and that place them in jeopardy if possessed illegally. While the intent of such laws may not be racist, their effect most certainly is.

Today's gun-control battle, like those of days gone by, largely breaks down along class lines. Though there are exceptions to the rule, the most dedicated and vociferous proponents of strict gun controls are urban, upper-middle-class or aspiring upper-middle-class, pro-big-government liberals, many of whom are part of the New Class (establishment intellectuals and the media), and most of whom know little or nothing about guns and the wide range of legitimate uses to which they are regularly put. Many of these elitists make no secret of their disdain for gun-owners. For instance, Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York recently dismissed those who are opposed to the Empire State's mandatory seat-belt law as "NRA hunters who drink beer, don't vote, and lie to their wives about where they were all weekend."

On the other hand, the most dedicated opponents of gun control are often rural- or small-town-oriented, working- or middle-class men and women, few of whom possess the means to publicize their views, but many of whom know a great deal about the safe and lawful uses of guns. To these Americans, guns mean freedom, security, and wholesome recreation. The battle over gun controls, therefore, has come about as affluent America has attempted to impose its anti-gun prejudices on a working-class America that is comfortable with guns (including handguns), seldom misuses them (most gun crime is urban), and sees them as protection against criminal threats and government oppression.

How right you are, General Laney. "All gun laws have been enacted to control certain classes of people. . . ." ◻

William R. Tonso is a professor of sociology at the University of Evansville and the author of Gun and Society.

Soul-searching among the Dems has New Deal liberals pitted against "new ideas" pols, with some—dare we hope? —encouraging results.

DESPERATELY SEEKING SOLUTIONS

by **Bill Kauffman**

The Democratic Party is in deep trouble. It has been buried by landslides in three of the last four presidential elections, and public opinion polls indicate that the Republicans are fast becoming the nation's majority party. The old Franklin D. Roosevelt coalition of union members, ethnics, white southerners, and intellectuals has unraveled. Only black voters remain steadfastly loyal to the Democratic Party. This precipitous decline (remember back to 1974, when pundits fretted that the GOP might collapse under the weight of Watergate?) has encouraged an unusually lively and vigorous debate among liberals over what is to be done to return to the American people's good graces.

Some Democratic pols deny that the party has a problem. Geraldine Ferraro, for instance, thinks that Democrats can return to favor "not by changing our policies, but by articulating them in a slightly different way." This is a perfect example of the "blame Walter Mondale's barber" school of wishful thinking. To these Democrats, the Reagan era is a hideous aberration. Come 1988, the Gipper will ride off into the sunset and Americans will once again be clamoring for higher taxes, more regulation, and an expanded welfare state.

Not all Democrats are so sanguine. While the strategists and the party hacks are busy hiring consultants to rearrange deck chairs on the Titanic, assorted journalists, intellectuals, and politicians are laboring to recast the shape and the platform of the Democratic Party. No one is suggesting (unfortunately) that the party return to its 19th-century role as the champion of enterprise and prosperity, limited government, and a relatively noninterventionist foreign policy. The Thomas Jeffersons and the Andrew Jacksons—hell, even the Grover Clevelands—are long gone. The Democratic Party that emerges from this debate may be even more hostile to individual liberties than were the New Deal and Great Society forebears of today's liberals. But just maybe...

You can't tell the players in this contest of ideas without a scorecard:

The New Republic. It was founded in 1914 by progressive journalist Herbert Croly (progressives are the ones who were big on regulation and imperialism and determined to stamp out "the destructive individualism of Jeffersonianism"). *The New Republic* has for more than half a century been the nation's most influential liberal journal of opinion. The weekly's history is checkered by some spectacular missteps—including a reluctance to criticize Stalin in the 1930s and Henry Wallace's ludicrous editorship in the late '40s. But since 1974, under the guidance of wealthy ex-New Leftist Editor-in-Chief Martin Peretz and sporting an ideologically variegated collection of writers and editors, *TNR* has become one of the most interesting idea magazines in the land.

The neo-liberals. This is an infelicitous label for younger Democrats who express skepticism about economic regulation and flirt with a noninterventionist foreign policy. The godfather of neo-liberalism is Charlie Peters, a former Peace Corps bureaucrat who edits the feisty magazine *The Washington Monthly*. The most prominent neo-liberal politician is Sen. Gary Hart (Colo.)—he of the unsuccessful presidential bid. Sen. Bill Bradley (N.J.), Rep. Richard Gephardt (Mo.), and Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt share the label, and *The New Republic* falls into the neo-liberal camp on many domestic issues.

The left. The flagship publication of the socialist Democratic left is *The Nation*, founded in 1865 by liberal reformer E. L. Godkin. The weekly has seen its better days. Although graced by pungent writers like Christopher Hitchens and Alexander Cockburn, *The Nation* has a drab, oppressive feel, much like being stuck in a college elevator with an earnest young Trotskyite hectoring you about the Rosenbergs' innocence.

The magazine's political philosophy is an admixture of bureaucratic socialism and a selectively noninterventionist foreign policy. Jesse Jackson, George McGovern, and the Democrats' peace-and-environment faction are at home here.

The right. These Democrats support a hawkish foreign policy and the welfare-state agenda (though they passionately oppose minority quotas). Many are neoconservative intellectuals clustered around *Commentary* magazine and a couple of relatively impotent right-wing social clubs–pressure groups, the Social Democrats USA and the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM). They endorse the Reagan defense buildup and fret over what they see as the party's slow drift toward pacifism. Sen. Henry ("Scoop") Jackson led this Harry Truman wing of the party until his death in 1983. No one has taken his place.

Those are the parties to the debate. They've been at it since June 1980, when former Sen. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, an unremarkable man anxious to escape the capacious shadow of Ted Kennedy, kicked off the Democrats' public soul-searching with a speech to the liberal interest group Americans for Democratic Action. That speech, a seminal event in the still-brief history of neoliberalism, made the ritual obeisance to the civil-rights movement, the Great Society, the Peace Corps, etc. But Tsongas also admonished liberals to get "tough" and "work for a new liberalism—rooted in the sound values of the past but relevant to the all-too-real problems of the present and the future."

Okay, so Tsongas is no Daniel Webster. But he's a keen political observer, for in 1980 he espied what became *the* political story of 1984—young people were rejecting Democratic liberalism as stale, effete, and bureaucratic and throwing their lot in with a Republican Party that promised growth, enterprise, and opportunity.

Alas, Tsongas drew some strange conclusions from his dead-on diagnosis. In fact, what is most interesting about his speech (and a subsequent book, *The Road from Here*) is the issue that provoked it—Senate rejection of a 10-cents-a-gallon oil import fee pushed by Pres. Jimmy Carter. Tsongas scolded the assembled liberals because they'd opposed the fee. That's right—the problem with the Democrats was their reluctance to levy new taxes! What planet was this guy living on, anyway?

To be fair, Tsongas had other concerns (notably, liberal reticence in criticizing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979), but keep in mind the thrust of this original neo-liberal complaint. (Sen. Gary Hart has even revived this specific issue—he's sponsoring a bill that would slap a $10-a-barrel fee on imported oil.)

KEVIN POPE

Five years and two disastrous elections later, thoughtful Democrats are still seeking a "new liberalism." Mondale's failure in 1984 to resurrect the old Roosevelt coalition with an old-style campaign gave their search added urgency. Nowhere is that search more wrenching than in their responses to the manifold failures of the welfare state.

Fifty years of government attempts to run the economy have produced $200-billion deficits and recurrent sprees of inflation and unemployment. Twenty years of an all-out war on poverty, and the backstreets of our cities are littered with the casualties—the poor themselves.

The sages at *The New Republic* know that something has gone horribly wrong. They lament the Democratic Party's propensity to "promise everything to everybody." They call for the elimination of the most egregious and wasteful government programs—Amtrak, farm subsidies, the Small Business Administration, college loans for rich kids. They decry the protectionist themes sounded by organized labor. They chastise the president for being so timorous in going after corporate welfare handouts such as the Export-Import Bank. But beyond these breaths of fresh air . . . nothing. They are baffled and befuddled.

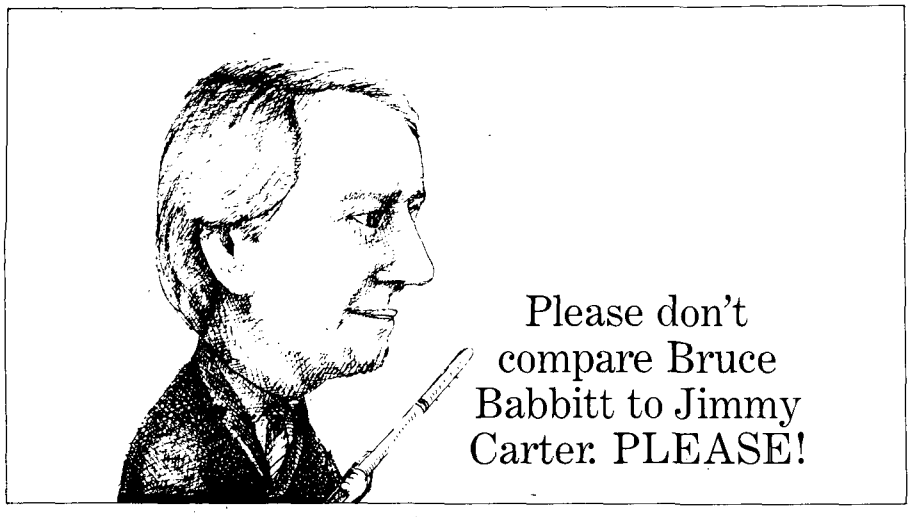
Case in point: Nicholas Lemann, writing in *TNR*, calls Charles Murray's indictment of the Great Society, *Losing Ground*, a "compelling" book with a "feeling of horrible authenticity about the social and economic fortunes of poor Americans." Yet he demurs from Murray's policy prescription—abolish all social welfare programs except unemployment insurance—as "unimaginable." Why accept Murray's evidence but not his conclusion? Because, offers Lemann, "the idea that government should give money to poor people is basically a good and moral one."

And that, my friends, is the one immutable Democratic truth. Ever since William Jennings Bryan's populist coup in 1896, the Democrats have preached that the government must intervene in the economy and in society in order to protect individuals from the ravages of the free market.

The most intellectually scrupulous of today's Democrats accept the unpleasant truths that social scientists are now telling us about the welfare state. It destroys incentive. It breaks up families. It does very little for the abject poor—except lock them and their children into a nightmarish cycle of dependency. But rather than just scrapping the New Deal/Great Society nostrums, the new Democrats propose to replace the old, discredited programs with new and improved schemes cooked up deep in some

public policy laboratory.

A December 3, 1984, *New Republic* editorial illustrates the current liberal predicament. It advises the Democrats to discard six "old ideas"—(1) domestic content proposals that would effectively keep foreign-made cars out of the United States; (2) comparable worth, an apple-pie-and-sunshine name for an insidious scheme that would give government bureaucrats the power to decide how much your job is worth; (3) the nuclear freeze, which the editors call "a silly gimmick"; (4) election campaign reform laws that prevent individuals from giving money to candidates they like; (5) quotas that "enshrine reverse discrimination in much of American life"; and (6) bilingual education.



Please don't compare Bruce Babbitt to Jimmy Carter. PLEASE!

Bravo! But wait—the editors, unable to leave well enough alone, proceed to hand out a mixed bag of new ideas—good (make the Japanese pay for their own defense; repeal tax and pension laws that discourage worker ownership of companies); bad (tax reform, because it's "the best way to raise new revenues"; a United Nations of the democracies, as though one is not enough); and positively ugly (free television time for political candidates, an offense against the First Amendment *and* the nation's poor television viewers).

Democratic politicians, a congenitally cautious breed, eschew *The New Republic*'s candor. It's hard enough to get them to criticize Amtrak, let alone the vaunted social safety net. As a result, neo-liberal Democratic solons have yet to come up with the "comprehensive successor to the New Deal" promised by Gary Hart.

Neo-liberal members of Congress have compiled voting records that are virtually indistinguishable from those of paleo-liberals (*National Journal* rated Senators Hart and Tsongas among the seven most liberal members of the 98th Congress). Although their rhetoric—long on pleas for pragmatism and short on New Deal boilerplate—is sometimes heartening, most of the new Democrats' much-advertised new ideas would involve mere redeployments of government power and resources.

Senator Bradley and Representative Gephardt are paladins of tax reform, but their interest is in simplifying the tax code and encouraging growth in favored sectors of the economy. They care not one whit about reducing the overall tax burden so that beleaguered individuals can pursue happiness as they see fit with their earnings. Gary Hart advocates closer cooperation between government, business, and labor, an idea popularized by 1930s' Italian leaders of the *f*-word persuasion. Gephardt (the *Wall Street Journal*'s favorite Democrat) is an ardent protectionist—he's sponsoring legislation that would slap a 25 percent tariff on imports from Japan, Brazil, South Korea, and Taiwan. And the neo-liberals were quick to jump on the "infrastructure" bandwagon when some clever neologist coined the term as a respectable euphemism for public works. (Senator Hart recently introduced a bill to create a "National Infrastructure Fund" to dish out $3 billion a year to fill potholes.)

The most interesting new Democrat may be Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt. It's a good bet that he'll be running for president in 1988, and if you can ignore the people who compare him to Jimmy Carter (ouch!), you'll find the guy is, well, different—from Carter, for sure, and also from run-of-the-mill neo-lib politicians.

First, there's his obsession with "means-testing." He'd tie eligibilty for a whole slew of government programs—Social Security, Medicare, farm subsidies—to a recipient's income level. (This is one of Charlie Peters's and *The Washington Monthly*'s pet ideas. "The country can't afford to spend money on people who don't need it," grumps Peters.) It may not be a frontal assault on the welfare state, but at least the battle would be joined.

Babbitt stresses decentralist themes that are wholly inconsistent with 20th-century Democratic thinking. He speaks of turning historically local government functions such as education and transportation back to states and localities. And unlike other neo-liberal politicians, Babbitt isn't afraid to deal in specifics. A Babbitt spokesman indicated that the governor would abolish the Department of Education and get the feds out of the business of repairing the Interstate Highway System—two reforms that would pry more than $25 billion of taxpayers' money out of Washington's profligate little hands.

The Democratic left has been mercifully silent in the economic debate. Sure, they denounce tax cuts as "giveaways" and call for more, more, more spending on nondefense programs. But the left's cynosure has shifted to Central America and South Africa. There has been no retreat from statolatry in this wing of the party, though, as *Nation* editorial board member Alan Wolfe makes clear:

> The decisions that have to be made about our economy are political decisions, not economic ones, and they will be determined by the forces that command the levers of political power. . . . The left's strength lies in its ability to remind Americans that the economy must be shaped to fit their conception of the public interest, not the other way around. Neither neoconservatism nor neoliberalism can talk seriously about the common good because both allow private centers of power to determine it indirectly.

This, sadly, represents the sum of economic wisdom on the left. Control of the economy must be wrested from 235 million individual Americans and handed over to "the forces that command the levers of political power." The left's grievance against their more moderate Democratic comrades is that the moderates tolerate "private centers of power" and a measure of economic freedom. The Jesse Jackson campaign, despite some early free-trade rumblings, failed to shake free of this left-wing statism.

Meanwhile, the Democratic right, desperately seeking to keep labor unions from abandoning the hawkish George Meany-Lane Kirkland tradition, steps gingerly on the subject of the welfare state. The neo-conservatives appreciate the hard-line anticommunist role the AFL-CIO plays within the party (though the

newly influential white-collar unions are pushing the labor organization leftward on nuclear disarmament issues). And they generally refrain from criticizing union demands for protectionist legislation and government handouts.

Strategy aside, the right-wing Democratic intellectuals just don't seem very interested in nonracial domestic issues. Many are ex-socialists who left the faith in disgust over the pacifist and allegedly anti-American nature of the New Left in the 1960s. Their mission is to restore the pre-McGovern Democratic consensus—aggressive globalism abroad and a noble welfare state at home. The free market does not figure prominently in this vision, although they're willing enough to say a few kind words about capitalism in the abstract.

If the Democratic Party is to move away from its regnant hostility to economic liberties, the push is going to have to come from the neo-liberals. Yet for all their refreshing talk about the failures of interest-group liberalism, the neo-liberals can sound almost Prussian when discussing the citizen's duty to the state.

Almost every prominent neo-liberal supports either the military draft or national service. Their enthusiasm for conscription is not based on a perceived manpower shortage in the armed forces. Rather, it springs from a sincere belief that free men and women are incapable of forming communities and engaging in cooperative enterprises unless prodded to do so.

The Washington Monthly's Charlie Peters, the high priest of national service, decries "a trend toward separatism ... that has divided the nation and produced the politics of selfishness." Failing "a rebirth of the spirit of service that motivates people to volunteer to give," he believes a draft is necessary to *make* them give. Gary Hart, who intends to make national service a central plank of his 1988 presidential bid, laments that Americans "lack a feeling of fellowship and concord." Under his guidance and the government's helping hand, we lonely Americans can "reestablish the ties of a common cause."

Conventional Democrats have been slow to rally round the conscription banner. Perhaps they fear the American people's stubborn good sense and innate distrust of government. Yet the old liberals' eloquent new champion, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo ("Mario Status Cuomo," to some wags), sees the individual's relationship to the state in much the same light.

Cuomo speaks of the polity as a family. Just as a good father sees to his children's needs, so should government officials take it upon themselves to redistribute income "fairly" and to protect risk-taking citizens from their own foolish impulses. (Not surprisingly, New York State has the largest bureaucracy and one of the highest tax rates in the nation. It was also the first state to enact a mandatory seatbelt law for adults.) The fundamental flaw in this vision—a family is voluntary and based on love, the state is coercive and relies on force—eludes Cuomo's reputedly nimble mind, and the Democrats climbing aboard his bandwagon seem untroubled by the Orwellian implications of the metaphor.

The fiercest fight among liberals, and the one that augurs best for supporters of limited government, is occurring over foreign policy. Democrats abandoned laissez-faire principles in the early decades of this century and embarked upon a crusade of liberal internationalism and intervention in the affairs of other nations. We were going to make the world safe for democracy, in Woodrow Wilson's memorable phrase.

Two world wars, two undeclared wars, and 425,000 dead American soldiers later, most of the world's people still suffer under tyrannical or undemocratic governments. Yet advocates of withdrawal from our role as world policeman are routinely slandered as isolationists, accused of geopolitical naiveté, and denied a voice in political discourse. (Most noninterventionists believe in free trade and vigorous diplomacy and are uncomfortable with the term *isolationist*, but I'll use it anyway.)

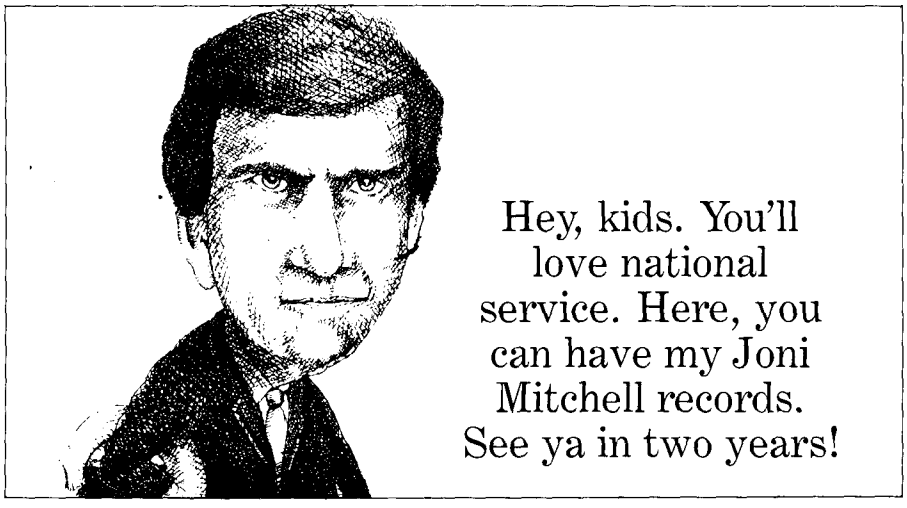
The times they are a changin'. The Democrats' 20th-century role as the party of interventionism is the subject of a bitter, contentious dispute across the liberal spectrum. The neo-liberals and the *Nation*–Jesse Jackson left are tugging the Democrats away from their fondness for international military commitments; the neo-conservatives and *The New Republic* (an ally of the neo-liberals on domestic issues) are stoutly defending the FDR-Truman-JFK-LBJ interventionist tradition.

The Democrats' split was highlighted during the 1984 primary campaign. Gary Hart, who shamelessly aped John F. Kennedy's mannerisms on the stump, ran on a neo-isolationist (Democrats love that prefix) foreign-policy platform that had little in common with JFK's pledge to "pay any price, bear any burden" in defense of democracy around the globe. Hart called for withdrawing US troops from Lebanon. He opposed the invasion of Grenada. He sponsored a plank in the Democratic Party platform urging strict limits on the use of force in foreign policy. He assured voters that in the event of a Middle East oil cutoff, "not one [American] life would be put ashore in any Persian Gulf area."

Hart's rhetoric—the US government should stop "sending the sons of minorities and working people to serve as bodyguards for dictators"—was stridently noninterventionist, particularly with respect to Central America. One exasperated Mondale advisor summed up the Hart wing's foreign policy as: "Don't do it. Don't get involved in any struggle that might get our skirts dirty."

That's an overstatement. Hart and the neo-liberals are not isolationists. Except for Charlie Peters (he says he's "willing to consider" an American pullout from NATO), almost all of them support a strong US role in the Western alliance, and they think that generous aid to the Third World should be a cornerstone of US foreign policy. But the neo-liberals are genuinely skeptical of interventionism. Given time, they may yet become yuppie America-Firsters.

Hart was echoed on the left by Jesse



Jackson, who alternated pleas for the judicious and restrained use of American military might—and less generous defense welfare for Japan—with paeans to Third World murderers and dictators. (Who can forget his execrable "Long live Castro" spectacle?)

A more respectable leftist critique of interventionism, perhaps derived from revisionist scholars such as William Appleman Williams, was absent from the campaign. That's not surprising, since the Jackson-*Nation* left isn't really noninterventionist. They're just selective about which nations' affairs warrant our interference. Thus they oppose aid to the Contras in Nicaragua because we shouldn't be "bullies to the world," yet they are not at all reluctant to use American foreign policy to bully the white racist regime in South Africa. American Empire would be okay if only we weren't on the wrong side of history!

Nevertheless, the Hart and Jackson campaigns signified a tremendously important shift in the major parties' ideological alignment. The Republicans, once home to principled noninterventionists such as Sen. Robert Taft, have become, as Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) says, "the new internationalist party." Taft's warnings about the dangers to liberty inherent in an aggressive foreign policy no longer resonate through the GOP. Republicans support government aid to rebel forces in Nicaragua and Afghanistan and Cambodia and Angola. They launched an invasion of Grenada. They offered little opposition to stationing Marines in the bombed-out ruins of Lebanon. They are champions of a strong US role in NATO They defend the Vietnam war, which was designed and prosecuted by liberal Democrats, as a "noble cause."

Liberal Democrats, on the other hand, who 25 years ago would have been champing at the bit to get the United States involved in a Third World tussle, are providing the most significant opposition to President Reagan's Cold War internationalism. The noninterventionists are not yet ascendant within the party; three of the top four House Democrats in the leadership and foreign-policy wing—Jim Wright (Texas), Tom Foley (Wash.), and Dante Fascell (Fla.)—are comfortably within the interventionist tradition. But the establishment is clearly on the defensive.

The New Republic is particularly agonized over this development. Senior Editor Charles Krauthammer, a former speechwriter for Walter Mondale in his storied vice-presidential days, has written plaintively that the United States "finds itself with the responsibilities of empire, but without the self-justifying ideologies of the old imperial powers." He goes on to set two conditions for US intervention in the affairs of other states: justice and strategic necessity.

Exactly what changes this presciption for Wilsonian realpolitik would require in current US policy is unclear, though Krauthammer suggests that our best bet in the Third World is to throw in with "the third force"—democratic movements opposed to left- and right-wing dictatorships in the Philippines, Chile, Nicaragua, and South Africa, among others. Morally admirable, perhaps, but still squarely within the interventionist tradition.

The grand paradox of today's foreign-policy debate is that neo-isolationist Democrats are lined up in well-nigh unanimous opposition to President Reagan's "Star Wars" defense program, which is the most radically isolationist foreign-policy proposal in many years. The deterring shield against nuclear attack that Star Wars promises would free the United States of the necessity of risky strategic alliances. Our security would no longer be inextricably linked with that of our supposed allies. We could escape NATO and ANZUS and all the other entanglements and alliances that George Washington so presciently warned against in his Farewell Address in 1796. ("The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible.... Why...entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of [other nations'] ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?")

If Star Wars works, the old isolationist dream of an impregnable fortress America would be a reality. (Washington's words are again relevant: "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course [from other nations']....the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance;...when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation.") We would be immune from the possibility of nuclear attack (military strategists of all stripes concede that a foreign invasion of the United States is exceedingly unlikely) and could return to the peaceful, prosperous role in world affairs that our revolutionary forefathers envisioned.

The new internationalists in the Republican Party, particularly the vigorous young turks of the Conservative Opportunity Society, are ardent partisans of Star Wars. Yet they may recognize the inconsistency; for in justifying foreign intervention, the young Republicans shun talk of strategy and containment and have adopted the language of moralists. According to them, the United States isn't trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government because it fears another Communist presence in the Western hemisphere; rather, the Contras should receive taxpayers' money because they are the "moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers." If the Reagan administration succeeds and the Star Wars shield is in place, politicians who want to send ghetto kids off to die in foreign jungles will be forced to rest their case on such dubious claims.

So long as President Reagan keeps us out of war, the Democratic ideology will evolve slowly, incrementally, and in an unpredictable direction (though 20th-century American history suggests that staying out of war is no mean feat for the US government). But it will evolve. Political parties may flirt with principle, but in the long run the Democrats and the Republicans face the same categorical imperative—to go where the votes are. All but the most obtuse Democrats have figured out that the votes are nowhere near the reactionary liberalism of the sort served up by Mister Mondale last fall.

So stands the Democratic Party, 50 years after it abjured its proud individualist heritage and plunged headlong into a tragic affair with big government. The romance of welfare statism remains strong; no prominent Democrat dares criticize the fundamentally collectivist assumption undergirding US social policy. But a disillusionment has set in.

Young neo-liberals are joining leftists in opposition to the party's 20th-century internationalist crusade. As the Republicans claim the FDR-Truman-JFK mantle in foreign affairs, we may see a revival of a prudent, Robert Taft-style noninterventionist foreign policy—in the party that vilified Taft as an irresponsible isolationist two score years ago.

On the domestic front, a few courageous Democrats are admitting the failures of expensive social programs and casting around for an alternative. They haven't hit upon the free market yet, but stranger things have happened. Remember—the party that gave us Tip O'Neill and LBJ once gave us Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. ◻

Assistant Editor Bill Kauffman, formerly a legislative assistant in the US Senate to a Scoop Jackson Democrat, is now an Andrew Jackson democrat.

In the 1960s, the Mozambicans threw off Portuguese colonialism. Now, guerrillas are fighting to free their country from Soviet imperialism and an insane ruler.

PHOTOGRAPHS • JACK WHEELER

FROM ROVUMA TO MAPUTO:

MOZAMBIQUE'S GUERRILLA WAR

By Jack Wheeler

It took the author, at right, three attempts to get into Mozambique.

My introduction to the mysterious guerrillas of Renamo—*Resistencia Nacional de Mocambicana*, the Mozambique National Resistance—was sobering. It was late in the afternoon of June 13, 1985. Some hours earlier, I had secretly crossed into Mozambique from a neighboring country, paddling a bark canoe across a muddy river that forms the border. After hiking some 10 miles through the dry bush, my two guides indicated we were approaching a Renamo camp. Finally, I thought—my fourth attempt in two years to get inside here and see these people, and at last I am doing it.

When a shot rang out from the trees ahead, I didn't think much of it—probably a sentry notifying others of our arrival. I was wrong. When I walked into the camp, a grisly scene awaited me. An executioner had fired the shot, performing a *coup de grâce* on a captured spy of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front), the Soviet-backed Marxist insurgency that had gained power upon Mozambique's independence from Portugal in 1975. The dead spy had just been decapitated with a machete. As the headless corpse was being carried off, a Renamo soldier picked up the head, the left temple blown away by the executioner's bullet, and held it up to me. "I do not think," he said with a relaxed smile, "that we will have trouble from Frelimo spies for a while." The commander of the camp, Commandante Fujao, ordered the soldier to place the head on a stake by the nearest road as a warning to any other Frelimo agents in the area.

A table with a clean red-and-white-checked tablecloth and makeshift wooden chairs had been set up. Fujao gestured for me to sit down and explained: "If President Dhlakama [Afonso Dhlakama, president and chief military commander of Renamo] hears of this, he will be so

angry he may want to put *my* head on a stake. The president says above all we must never terrorize the local people, that the local villagers should look at us as their friend and protector from Frelimo tyranny. But when we captured this man spying on us, he confessed to being a Frelimo soldier. He was not a local villager, although he was pretending to be one. Since our job is to kill Frelimo soldiers, we killed him." He shrugged his shoulders and smiled. "Now, welcome to our camp, welcome to Renamo. Would you like something to eat?"

Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama: "First [we must] free ourselves from Soviet colonialism."

I said yes, and someone brought me a bowl of *nzima*, corn porridge. Fujao continued to talk with my two guides, Mozambicans who were Renamo agents in the neighboring country. They talked in Portuguese, the *lingua franca* between all Mozambican tribes; one of my guides spoke passable English, however, and so was able to translate for me.

Fujao was an impressive specimen, his skin as sleek and blue-black as gun metal, muscles bulging out of a maroon knit shirt, spikes of Rastafarian dreadlocks that made his hair look like a nest of tarantulas, a captured Soviet pistol in a holster on his trim waist. He was 31 years old and had been with Renamo for four years. Before that he had worked in a restaurant in the coastal city of Beira. When his father incurred the wrath of a local Frelimo official and disappeared, Fujao joined the resistance.

My first attempt to get inside rebel-held Mozambique had been in 1983. Doing initial field research on anti-Soviet insurgencies, I had first slipped inside Nicaragua with the Contras. Next came Afghanistan, and then I was off to Africa. In Nairobi, I met up with my initial underground Renamo contact.

I ended up getting to know a number of Renamo leaders in three black African countries neighboring Mozambique. They were unable, however, to get me inside Mozambique in 1983 and again in '84, due to a number of complications, not the least of which was the security problem of white skin—if I were black, they could have slipped me inside easily, but a white man does rather stick out in rural black Africa.

In September of 1984, I spent two weeks along Mozambique's border waiting for a Renamo patrol to come and take me inside. It never came—too much fighting in the area with government troops—and I didn't get in, although I later learned that an intelligence report had been filed with the US government alleging that I had. It was a set-up, I am convinced, by the Mozambique lobby in the State Department, a lobby desperately seeking support for the Communist government of Mozambique and hysterically hostile toward Renamo. It is this lobby within the Reagan administration that was responsible for the wining and dining of Samora Machel, the Communist ruler of Mozambique, in Washington, in September 1985.

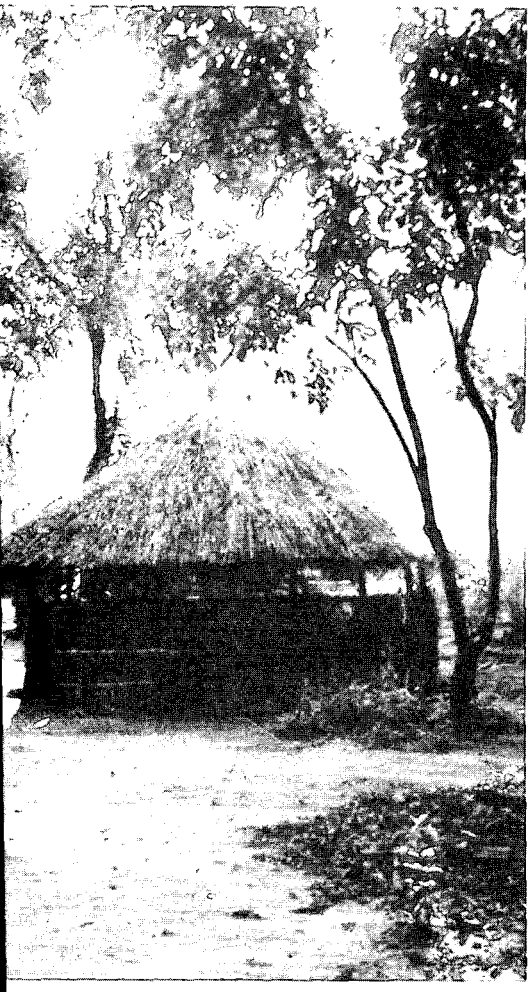
This hostility seems bizarre only if one thinks the purpose of the State Department is to diplomatically defend the national interests of the United States. The mystery vanishes when one remembers that the State Department is a bureaucracy and that the primary purpose of any bureaucracy is to perpetuate and enhance itself. The State Department has evidently convinced itself that it will be a wonderfully prestigious feather in its bureaucratic cap for it to "wean away" Machel from the Soviets and into the "American camp," using its great diplomatic skills and promises of vast foreign aid, bank loans, and International Monetary Fund credits.

What I finally was able to do in 1984 was interview Afonso Dhlakama by radio from a neighboring country in southern Africa. When I asked him about this effort of the US State Department, he called it "a very foolish and naive dream." Such dreams have become characteristic of the State Department's outlook toward the world. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the anti-Marxist UNITA guerrillas in Angola, once told me that "it is the Third World that has to give the West the courage to oppose the Soviet Union and stand up for its ideals, not the other way around—to provide a cure for what Solzhenitsyn calls 'the Western disease.' "

The son of a paramount chief of the Changane-Ndau tribe, Afonso Dhlakama was born on New Year's Day in 1953 at the town of Chiba Bava in Sofala province. At the age of 19, young Afonso was

recruited by his uncle Samuel (presently with Mozambique's ministry of health in the capital, Maputo) to join the resistance, Frelimo. It was March of 1972, and Afonso had just deserted from the Portuguese colonial army, into which he had been conscripted the year before. Frelimo had been formed by the union of three Mozambican nationalist movements in June 1962 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with Dr. Eduardo Mondlane as its leader. In 1964, Frelimo had initiated an armed campaign against Portuguese colonial rule.

Both Mondlane—a US-educated physician and an official with the United Nations—and Filipe Magaia, Frelimo's military commander, were opposed to Marxism and were particularly suspicious of the Soviets. A rivalry developed between Magaia and Samora Machel, a stridently fanatic Maoist who had joined Frelimo in 1963. In October of 1966, Machel and his supporters murdered Magaia, whereupon he assumed Magaia's position as military commander. When a pro-Soviet Frelimo fac-



Guerrilla base camps like this, with its immaculately swept grounds and thatch-hut dwellings, dot the entire Mozambican countryside—a testament to Renamo's popular support.

tion assassinated Mondlane in February 1969, Machel switched from Maoist to Soviet Marxist, becoming, with Soviet backing, the overall political and military leader of Frelimo. The liberation movement was transformed into a "revolutionary vanguard," and any leaders still clinging to Mondlane's original goals of pluralistic democratic tolerance, and not espousing Soviet Marxism-Leninism, were either killed or expelled.

The Soviet connection was well hidden from teen-age recruits like Dhlakama, who joined Frelimo to fight for an independent and democratic Mozambique, free from Portuguese rule. When independence came in June of 1975, Portugal's Communist government of Vasco Goncalves—having seized power in a coup the previous year—was eager to turn Mozambique over to Soviet-sponsored Frelimo. Dhlakama, a company commander, was appointed head of logistics for the Frelimo army in Sofala province. From his vantage point in Beira, where he was stationed for the ensuing two years, he saw that his country had not gained independence at all but that it had merely switched from being a colony of Portugal to being a colony of the Soviet Union.

And being a Soviet colony was almost unimaginably worse. Machel's attempt to transform the country into a Soviet Marxist society resulted in a reign of terror that paralleled on a smaller scale the one the Khmer Rouge were conducting at the same time in Cambodia. The Mozambican people—exhausted and desperate for the peace and freedom Frelimo promised them—were to discover to their horror that Samora Machel was Africa's answer to Pol Pot.

Shortly after "independence," Machel instituted a "Campaign Against Prostitution and Banditry." The first wave of arrests netted 15,000 people. The Mozambican people were told by Machel that he had uncovered countless numbers of "enemies of the people" in their midst, entire classes of them in fact: the internal bourgeois, the reactionary, the imperialist, and the colonial agent. In order to correctly "mobilize and organize the masses," Machel told them, these enemies must be ruthlessly rooted out. It was one's "revolutionary duty" to inform the government who they were, even if they were members of one's own family. Thousands were denounced by their neighbors and relatives as former agents of PIDE, the Portuguese colonial secret service.

When the jails quickly overflowed, Machel set up "reeducation centers"—concentration camps that he called "laboratories for the transformation of man." The camps were run by SNASP (the Popular National Security Service), trained and organized by East Germans. This agency also operated the "People's Revolutionary Military Tribunals," responsible for filling up the laboratories with "infiltrados" (fifth-columnists) and "counterrevolutionary parasites." US and other national intelligence estimates state that 200,000-300,000 Mozambicans have been imprisoned in Machel's Gulag, where well over 75,000 have died.

This was not the society Dhlakama had fought for. As he looked around at the horror of Machel's social engineering—the camps; the wholesale attempt to destroy the tribal way of life by forcing villagers into communal farms; the forcing of thousands of "unemployed parasites" and "marginals" from the cities into completely undeveloped countryside, dumping them into remote bush areas to build villages and farm land from scratch; the East German spy and informer network disenabling anyone from trusting a fellow citizen, even a brother or a son; the endless and ubiquitous force-feeding of Marxist propaganda; and Soviet Russians running everything, ordering Mozambicans around as chattel—Dhlakama decided he had to fight again.

But how and with whom? It was then he decided to find Orlando Cristina.

A white Portuguese whose family had been in Mozambique for generations, Orlando Cristina had been a big-game hunter and guide. He joined Frelimo in Tanzania in 1963, as did many white Mozambicans who sympathized with the democratic ideals of Dr. Mondlane. Becoming increasingly disaffected from Frelimo after Mondlane's murder, Cristina had any of his remaining illusions about the movement shattered during the months of transition government prior to independence, when Frelimo got its first taste of power.

Machel's first project was the systematic elimination of the black and white middle class of Mozambique. Ninety percent of the 260,000 Portuguese settlers fled Frelimo's campaign of terror and expropriation in a mass exodus back to Portugal.

Of all those whose property Frelimo seized, perhaps the wealthiest was the industrialist Jorge Jardim, whom Cristina had come to know as his guide on big-game hunts. Jardim agreed to finance Cristina in setting up a radio station called *Voz da Africa Livre*, the Voice of Free Africa, which started broadcasting from Rhodesia in June 1976.

Typical guerrilla garb: tattered clothes and a Kalashnikov

After listening to the clandestine broadcasts of the Voice of Free Africa, Dhlakama made his decision. In June of 1977, he slipped across the border into Rhodesia to find Cristina. He was also looking for a man he had once met in Beira, hoping he had made it to Rhodesia as well. He had, and Cristina brought Dhlakama together with Andre Matadi Matsangaisse, revered today as Commander Andre, the founder of Renamo. Having fought extensively with Frelimo, Matsangaisse was assigned upon independence to the Engineering Corps in Beira. Shortly thereafter, however, Mat-

sangaisse, a charismatic and fiery orator, began denouncing the new regime for bringing dictatorship instead of democracy to his country. When he tried to organize a protest movement among his fellow soldiers, he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp in Sacuza.

Escaping from Sacuza in October 1976, Matsangaisse managed to gather together a small band of disaffected Frelimo soldiers and led them on a daring raid attacking the Sacuza camp the following April to free his fellow former prisoners. The raid was successful and the camp overrun, whereupon he asked the liberated inmates to join him in a Second Struggle for National Liberation: "Frelimo has sold out the revolution to the Soviet colonialists. Now we must fight for democracy and the independence of Mozambique all over again. Are you with me?" When they all shouted yes, the Mozambique National Resistance was born.

Matsangaisse went to find the people behind the Voice of Free Africa to ask them for help. "You are doing much talking," he told Cristina when he met him,

Many of Renamo's weapons are Soviet-made, captured from the enemy.

"and what your radio says is true. But we are willing not just to talk but to fight, to take up arms against Frelimo. Will you help us?" Cristina got Jardim and other wealthy *retornados* (Portuguese Mozambicans who had fled to Portugal) to finance the purchase of arms and supplies and the setting up of a sanctuary training camp at Odzi, just inside Rhodesia. As this was getting under way, Dhlakama arrived. He and Matsangaisse quickly developed a strong bond, and soon Dhlakama became Matsangaisse's second-in-command.

A guerrilla insurgency, in order to be effective—indeed, to initially survive at all—requires a sanctuary in a neighboring country. Recruits can flee there to be trained, and the insurgency can be resupplied. For the Nicaraguan Contras, it is Honduras. For the Afghan mujaheddin, it is Pakistan. For the Eritreans and Tigreans in Ethiopia, it is the Sudan. Not even Jonas Savimbi's UNITA is entirely self-contained in Angola but is continuously resupplied with gasoline and diesel fuel from South Africa and other material aid from several black African states, all physically transported across the border from Namibia into Angola. The fledgling Renamo was able to set up in and initially operate out of Rhodesia.

With Cristina coordinating finances and providing supplies, Matsangaisse was able to gather around him an ever-growing number of escapees from Machel's Gulag and disaffected Frelimo soldiers who had fought the Portuguese and needed no training from the Rhodesians in guerrilla warfare. Renamo teams began conducting raids and ambushes on Frelimo garrisons and convoys and targeting the transportation infrastructure at key points, such as bridges. Over the next two years, from mid-'77 through mid-'79, the exploits of "Commander Andre" leading his men-in-arms against Frelimo tyranny became known throughout all of Mozambique. By August of 1979, two base camps had been established in-country, both in daily radio contact with Cristina at Odzi.

Then, on October 17, 1979, leading an assault upon a Frelimo army encampment, Andre Matsangaisse was killed. As Dhlakama assumed command of the now demoralized and stunned guerrillas, the situation for the insurgency suddenly looked very bleak. Rhodesia was soon to be transformed into Zimbabwe, with Robert Mugabe taking the reins of power from Ian Smith. Once that happened, Mugabe, a friend of Samora Machel's and fellow Marxist, would immediately close the border on Renamo. A new sanctuary was needed, and quickly. Only one option was really viable, and for a black African it was not pleasant. But it was necessary: Dhlakama asked Cristina to contact the South Africans.

Through Rhodesian friends, Cristina was soon in touch with South African Military Intelligence (SAMI, or "Sammy"). In April 1980, a few days before Mugabe took over, Cristina and his staff left Odzi to set up camp and the Voice of Free Africa radios at Phalaborwa in the northern Transvaal of South Africa, just outside Kruger National Park, which borders Mozambique. Working with South African officer Col. van Niekerk, Cristina organized regular air drops, of medical supplies and Soviet arms captured in South African raids of anti-South African guerrilla camps in Angola, to Dhlakama's base inside Mozambique.

Renamo was back in business. And business was improving. Dhlakama's position as "President and Supreme Military Commander" of Renamo was unquestioned, for he was proving to be quite talented as a guerrilla leader. Establishing a string of small bases

throughout the country, Renamo began attracting thousands of volunteers. A large portion of support came from the "regulos," traditional rural village chiefs upon whom Machel was waging war in his crazed effort to create "a new socialist man" in Mozambique.

The Renamo message was one of Mozambican nationalism versus Soviet colonialism; of defending and respecting the traditions and beliefs of the various Mozambican cultural and religious communities (of a population of more than 13 million, about 12 percent are Christian, twice that are Sunni Moslem, and the remainder native animists) versus a violent contempt for them; of democracy versus Marxist dictatorship; and of the right of every Mozambican to earn his living as he sees fit versus forced communal slavery.

The message also came out of the barrel of a gun, pointed at the economy and Frelimo's capacity to govern. The key targets became the railway lines from

Using portable short-wave transceivers, Renamo guerrillas keep in daily radio contact. By spring 1984, the rebels were operating effectively in all 10 provinces.

Maputo and Beira to Zimbabwe; the oil pipeline from Beira to Mutare in Zimbabwe; the main paved roads, especially along the coast; and the power lines from the Cabora Bassa dam on the Zambezi, which supplies South Africa with 12 percent of its electricity. The power lines were first cut in November of 1980 and twice in 1981. Then Zamco, the South African company that operates Cabora Bassa, made a deal with the guerrillas for an undisclosed amount of money, and the attacks ceased.

No deal was possible, however, with Machel. His response to Dhlakama's offer to negotiate a democratization of Mozambique was to daily denounce the insurgents as "armed bandits" and "creatures of racist South Africa," and to increase the fascist controls and East German surveillance over the people. His Frelimo troops scored some early successes, such as overrunning Renamo's Garagua base in December 1981. Dhlakama then moved Renamo headquarters to a base at the foot of the towering Serra da Gorongosa mountains in central Sofala.

Throughout 1982, Renamo continued to expand while Frelimo's successes against it dwindled. Vast portions of Sofala and Manica provinces, northern Gaza province, and southern Tete province were effectively removed from Frelimo control. By June, Dhlakama's forces had crossed the Limpopo River into southern Gaza, and by August they had crossed the Zambezi River into Zambezia. Things were now looking bleak for Frelimo—just how bleak was revealed when Jorge da Costa, director of Frelimo's secret police, defected to South Africa on June 6, 1982. The picture he painted was grim.

He described Samora Machel as a man certifiably insane with power, who would hide for hours under stairs at a hospital taking notes on staff activities, then spring out and berate the staff for laziness; who would throw hysterical temper tantrums if a stewardess on Air Mozambique did not have a tall glass for a drink of Scotch; who suddenly ordered one afternoon anyone wearing striped clothing on the streets of Maputo arrested, beat up, and jailed—then withdrew the order the next day.

Da Costa's files list the Soviet presence in Mozambique as 4,000 to 5,000 men, mostly military, under the command of Col. Anatoli Shadrin, of the KGB. They list about 1,000 East Germans, headed by Gen. Gunter Weinrich of the East German Security Police, and some 4,000 Cubans, again mostly military, under Col. Haras Sanchez of Castro's DGI (Cuban Secret Police).

Renamo's expansion continued through 1983, even with the setback of Orlando Cristina's death at the hands of an unknown assailant at his farm outside Pretoria in April. By the end of the year, Renamo had spread across all of Zambezia and into both Nampula and Niassa provinces (liberating in the process several of Machel's concentration camps), northern Tete, much of Inhambane, and was starting to push toward the capital of Maputo. Machel began turning desperately to the West for help, claiming he was "disillusioned" with Marxism and the Soviets. He even contacted the South Africans: would they sell out Renamo if he would sell out the ANC (African National Congress), an anti-South Africa rebel group headquartered in Maputo.

Pik Botha, South Africa's foreign minister, leaped at the offer. Botha (no relation to the South African president, P. W. Botha) was part of a faction in South Africa's government that thought it more in South Africa's interest to have impoverished and emasculated pro-Soviet Marxist states for neighbors—to maintain a seige mentality among white South Africans, to elicit Western sympathy, to have militarily weak neighbors chaotically disrupted by dissension and insurgency—than reinvigorated democracies led by independent leaders.

A guerrilla point man leads a patrol through 10-foot-high elephant grass.

Besides, to have the world press film the leader of Soviet Mozambique smiling and shaking hands with the president of South Africa as they jointly signed a mutual nonaggression treaty would be for South Africa, the world's pariah, a major public relations coup. And that is just what happened, at the train crossing at Nkomati on the South African side of the border, on March 16, 1984.

Shortly thereafter, the ANC was forced to move its headquarters to Lusaka, Zambia, and Renamo's supply base at Phalaborwa was closed down. Air drops to Gorongosa ceased—but not before the head of SAMI, Gen. Pieter der Westhuizen, infuriated at what he considered a sellout by Pik Botha, was able to organize a massive resupply of military equipment to Renamo before the accord was signed. Although SAMI continued low-level contact with Renamo after the signing—which Pik Botha admitted this past September—Dhlakama was on his own.

Most of the Mozambican people were as well. In many parts of the country, no rain had fallen for three years. Much of the famine aid sent by US and international relief agencies went to feed the Frelimo army (just as in Ethiopia). By mid-1984, international relief officials estimated that 170,000 Mozambicans had died of starvation and disease since the drought began.

There was no evidence of starvation, however, in the areas controlled by Renamo through which I passed. There was not an overabundance of food, to be sure—my lunch on the trail was usually a piece of raw cassava called "Fernando's Bone"—but rarely did I see children with distended bellies or other indications of real hunger. At a fishing village on a marsh near the border, I asked two villagers who spoke some English how things were.

"Things are much better with Renamo controlling the border and this entire area," I was told. "Now, many people come for our fish. Frelimo tried to control everything, nobody could have private business. With Renamo, we have freedom, confidence—Renamo likes us to have private business. Oh, yes, things are better now!"

With that, a Renamo soldier near me who knew a few English words smiled and cried out: "Renamo—capitalist! Frelimo—communist!" Everyone laughed. He raised his Kalashnikov high and yelled: "*Abassos communismo!*" [Down with communism.] "*Capitalismo muito bom!*" [Capitalism very good.]

In all my sojourns with anti-Soviet guerrillas, I have never met any more explicitly pro-capitalist than those of Renamo. Many of them are right out of the bush with little formal education, but they have an intuitive grasp of the necessary connection between political and economic freedom.

A good example was Conrad, assigned to me by Commandante Fujao on my trek through Renamo territory. He worked years ago for a white couple in Rhodesia and remembered a little English. "I don't like communism here because communism is no good," he let me know with an impassioned frustration in his voice. "Very impossible, that one. I like capitalism because I take my money from my job and buy shirt, or shoes, or bicycle, whatever I want. But he [Samora Machel] say no! Frelimo say must have 5, 10 people to buy bicycle, cannot buy yourself. But it is my money! Frelimo has no right to tell me how spend my money. Yes, communism very terrible."

Hand-made bark canoes must serve as the guerrilla navy.

For the Renamo guerrillas like Conrad and many others to whom I talked, communism and socialism means collectivism: property and possessions owned in common; being treated not as an individual but as a member of a work or social unit. Capitalism is synonymous with individual freedom to them: freedom to own and use things individually, freedom to open your own store, freedom to work at a job you wanted (and not one the state tells you to work at), freedom to quit a job you don't like and find another.

Capitalism also means political freedom to them—democracy. "Who chose Samora Machel to be leader of Mozambique?" asked Manuel, the leader of a Renamo patrol I accompanied. "He chose himself—he is a dictator, he gives orders, everyone else must obey. Renamo wants *democracia*, where people can choose the leader they want."

Renamo's popular support is increasing among the Mozambican people, particularly throughout the countryside. In April 1984, within a month of the Nkomati Accord, Renamo had moved into Cabo Delgado province, whose Makonde tribe inhabitants had formed the backbone of the Frelimo army. With disaffection toward Machel deep, they began assisting and joining Dhlakama's men in droves. Renamo was now operating effectively in all 10 provinces of the country. A British intelligence report of September 1984 stated that Frelimo had virtually lost most of Mozambique north of the Save River (three-fourths of the country). Peasants in Tete province, for instance, were "almost irretrievably disillusioned with Frelimo," having "turned to arms in much the same way their fathers became Frelimo fighters against colonial rule."

The situation in Zambezia province in mid-1985 is typical throughout the country. Each province has a Renamo central base in daily radio contact with all main bases in the province, some of which are in turn in radio contact with small bases or else by runner. Zambezia has 15 main or big bases, 58 small, with 2,480 armed fighters. Frelimo has 2 brigades (4,400 men in each), mostly garrisoned in Quelimane (the provincial capital) and Mocuba.

Virtually the entire countryside of Zambezia is under Renamo control, with only the district capitals and the provincial capital under Frelimo control. The strategy is to stop all road traffic—first out of the country (that is, to Malawi), then to other provinces, then between districts within the province—isolate the district capitals, then begin attacking them inside with sabotage. The airport at Quelimane was badly damaged in raids in January and again in March of 1985 and will be under continual attack by late '85. The roads from Zambezia to Sofala province have been closed since 1983. Renamo's main activity by June was directed toward the Mocuba-Nampula road. There is no offensive strategy of Frelimo anywhere in the province, only defense of the garrisons and convoys.

Supporting the claim that Frelimo is riddled with "countless" Renamo informers, in Zambezia and elsewhere, a recent British intelligence estimate reported that "many MNR [Renamo] commanders are former Frelimo cadres who still have well-placed friends in Frelimo. The MNR consistently obtains information about personnel, arms and food movements throughout the country. The ambush and sabotage success rate is high."

Patrol leader Manuel: "Who chose Samora Machel to be leader? He chose himself—he is a dictator."

The situation today in Mozambique is in many places rapidly becoming anarchic and chaotic—Frelimo has withdrawn from the countryside, and Renamo does not have the manpower to effect administrative control. According to South African newspaper reports and my own interviews with Mozambican refugees, in several areas deserting Frelimo soldiers have formed marauding gangs; starving young male villagers have resorted to banditry; and Frelimo assassination teams disguised as Renamo soldiers have taken to indiscriminately killing villagers (particularly those suspected of being Renamo sympathizers)—the same technique used by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua to smear

the Contras—all of which are reported by Maputo as "Renamo atrocities."

By the end of August, Johannesburg newspapers were reporting an "avalanche" of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Mozambique into South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland, portraying Mozambique as a land "torn apart by war and starvation," a country of "panic and chaos . . . on its knees." Accompanying the reports were pathetic pictures of decaying corpses killed by Soviet land mines that the Mozambique government had ordered strewn along the border to stanch the flow of refugees out of the country. "Frelimo says we must stay in Mozambique so that we can all die together," one story quoted refugee Daniel Mahanuki. "If we return to Mozambique, Frelimo will put us in jail. They also shoot us."

Morale in the Frelimo army was reported as at "an all-time low . . . with starving Frelimo soldiers crossing into South Africa and offering their weapons in exchange for food." Renamo, on the other hand, had stepped up its activities, with Maputo under a virtual state of seige. "Sources closely connected with Mozambique," concluded one story, "indicate that if it were not for the 20,000 foreign troops in Mozambique—mainly Zimbabweans—the rebels could overthrow the government of President Samora Machel."

That this thrilling prospect of a democratic liberation movement overthrowing—for the first time in history—a Soviet-backed Marxist-Leninist dictatorship is looked upon with horror by most Western governments, including the Reagan administration, is one of the most Kafkaesque and revealing geopolitical facts of our day. A weird coalition of US, British, and South African diplomats, businessmen, and bankers has emerged, desperate to support Samora Machel. British officers are now training Frelimo soldiers in counter-insurgency operations in Zimbabwe. South African soldiers are reportedly guarding Frelimo installations in civilian garb. Tiny Rowlands, the British millionaire whose Lonrho Company has extensive holdings in southern Africa, is one of Jonas Savimbi's principal supporters—and also one of Samora Machel's. Harry Oppenheimer, South Africa's wealthiest businessman, held a secret meeting with Machel in London in October 1983 and is anxious to have his Anglo-American Corporation gain lucrative contracts with the Frelimo government. David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, and Melvin Laird, secretary of defense under Richard Nixon, recently went to Maputo and came back with glowing tales of what money they could make with Machel. When Sen. Robert Kasten (R-Wis.) blocked the State Department's efforts to send military aid to Frelimo, Laird put "enormous" pressure on Kasten to relent, according to a chief aide to the senator.

The US State Department now bears responsibility for prolonging the bloodshed in Mozambique by frantically propping up Machel when he is on his last legs instead of calling for a negotiated cease-fire and the democratization of the country. So serious is the department in its efforts to woo Machel that in September the dictator was invited to Washington, where he was welcomed into the White House to plead his case for continuing US aid directly to President Reagan. During Reagan's years in office, Machel's government has received some $60 million in US "humanitarian" aid, and more has already been authorized.

Renamo is not without blame, however, for being unknown and cut off from the world. Its military effectiveness in the field has not translated to political effectiveness in the outside world. Angola's UNITA, for example, has a very articulate and personable representative in Washington, Jerry Chitunda, who intelligently and persuasively argues for UNITA to the press, on Capitol Hill, and elsewhere. Renamo has no one. Renamo's political leadership is ostensibly the National Council, the members of which are bitterly divided into two

Except for officers, the guerrillas wear whatever they have.

camps, one led by Renamo Secretary-General Evo Fernandes, a third-generation Mozambican of Goan Indian ancestry now residing in Portugal, the other venomously opposed to Fernandes. Caught in the middle of this feud is Renamo's most prominent politician, Fanuel Mahluza, one of the original founders of Frelimo in 1962. An immensely likable and eloquent man, Mahluza has struggled passionately for decades to bring freedom to Mozambique. Yet instead of arguing Renamo's case in Western capitals, today he is languishing in a garret in Nairobi, squeezed out by the rival factions.

Due to confusion arising out of Renamo's fractured political structure, the commonly heard accusation that Renamo has no clearly stated political ideology, that its objectives are "vague" or "murky," is not effectively refuted in the media. The recent appointment of Artur da Fonseca—a native Mozambican now residing in West Germany—as Renamo secretary for foreign affairs may help alleviate the problem, for Renamo's goals are explicitly put forth in a 10-point program. The document proposes a national constitution guaranteeing individual rights and freedoms to be drafted by an elected constituent assembly, specifies the times of free general elections, and provides for a federal form of government with each of Mozambique's 10 provinces exercising "authority over matters of mainly local or provincial importance." Renamo's basic goal is not the seizure of power but rather "the dissolution of all Communist political, administrative, economic, social and other structures in Mozambique," and to see that a constitutional government is freely

elected through a multi-party democratic system.

As Dhlakama himself explained to me when I interviewed him in 1984 via radio, Renamo has two primary objectives for Mozambique: "First is to free ourselves from Soviet colonialism. The Soviet Union is the world's curse. . . . Second is to free ourselves from the tyranny of Marxism. There are no freedoms of any kind in Mozambique today—of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly—none. We want to bring those freedoms to the Mozambican people. We want each Mozambican to peacefully conduct his life and earn his living as he sees fit—instead of being told his purpose in life is to work for the benefit of the state and of Samora Machel."

Today Dhlakama is close to his goal. The Frelimo regime is riven with dissension and may be falling apart. If Machel is not able to get enough Western aid and military assistance, Frelimo's hard-line Stalinist faction, led by Armando Guebuza, will most likely seize power with Soviet and East German help, leaving US and South African diplomats with omelettes on their faces and their "Let's Make a Deal with the Communists" policy in ruins.

Even if Machel does get material help from the West, his army has got neither the manpower—there are probably not many more Frelimo soldiers than Renamo soldiers, not over 30,000—nor the morale to use it. Machel depends on Zimbabweans. That some 15,000 of them, led by Soviet and East German officers, failed to rout Dhlakama's men from the Gorongosa mountains in a massive attack in August may demonstrate their ultimate inability to prevent a Renamo victory—which might occur well before the end of 1986.

Not only did I find myself believing in what the guerrillas of Renamo are fighting for, I found myself liking them personally. Except for officers, who wear a safari-type shirt, they wear whatever they have—an old suit, a bright pink shirt, which often is in rags. Many of them are barefoot. Yet they all try to keep clean. At camp, a young boy comes around with a bowl of water to wash your hands before a meal; there are bath huts with bowls of warm water and a soap-stand at each camp, and separate thatch huts for latrines on the camp perimeter. Every camp I saw was swept clean of leaves and debris.

The central base for the province I was in housed 575 men and was idyllic, with many shade trees, small vegetable and flower gardens, stands of bamboo, neat huts, and a gurgling stream rushing nearby. Different commanders have large individual huts, in charge of, for example, infantry, sabotage, and artillery. Some soldiers have small huts of their own, others are housed in thatch barracks—dozens and dozens of huts all well-spaced, not close together. The hospital was made of two thatch long houses, with very basic facilities and few antibiotics. Religion was much in evidence: pictures of Jesus, Bibles in huts, an Islamic mosque, and churches for Ethiopian Copts, Seventh Day Adventists, and Catholics.

One of the young Renamo guerrillas I talked to, 19-year-old Felipe Joao from Nampula, succinctly expressed the individualistic ideology of his movement and what it opposed: 'Communism does things by force, not by popular agreement. It makes people do what the Communists want, not what they want to do themselves.' "

When I had entered Renamo territory, it had been a real trek to reach the central base I was at: some 100-120 miles of walking through all kinds of terrain—hills, flat plains, savannas, forests—but mostly grass, 8- to 10-foot-high elephant grass with burrs that work their way through your clothes and prick your skin, endless miles of pushing your way through this burry grass. There were many live villages, swept and clean, with cassava and corn fields tended and weeded—and many dead villages, abandoned and in weeds, former Portuguese rice and corn plantations with orange orchards overgrown and everything in ruins.

The nights were peaceful and beautiful. Sleeping on a reed mat on the ground in various villages or Renamo bases, with the Milky Way painted across the night sky, I would watch the Southern Cross and Scorpio slowly rotate through the black vault above, and listen to lions cough in the distance. Most Renamo bases I passed through were quite small, with a handful of men, none of whom seemed concerned about a surprise Frelimo attack. I would invariably ask how close the nearest Frelimo garrison was. The closest was "5 or 6 days' walk." (Renamo guerrillas can cover 30-plus miles a day; they have no vehicles, everything is on foot. For Frelimo it is the same: Renamo has closed and mined all roads; Frelimo troops can fly between airports; but most small strips are shut down, and they don't have much heliborne capability.)

On the day I was to leave Mozambique—the border was 40 miles through the bush—I was up at first light to find warm water to wash and a meal of rice and chunks of roasted antelope waiting for me. Off at dawn with a bodyguard of a dozen heavily armed men, we covered the 40 miles in little over 12 hours. The border lay on the other side of a swamp and river that I must cross in a tiny dugout canoe. I had to wait until midnight, I was told, for the boatmen were afraid of hippos, which could easily overturn the canoe.

At midnight I said goodbye to my bodyguard and settled into a dugout with three boatmen and an unarmed Renamo agent in the neighboring country. One man stood in front and poled, another at the rear paddling and steering, the third in reserve. Crossing that swamp, I had never encountered such hordes of mosquitos in my life, not even on the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea. Slowly and silently we glided across fields of lily pads and finally out to the river. "Crocodiles not so bad, but hippos very dangerous," I was informed, but we were late enough so that none appeared. The night was moonless. Smeared with "deet" repellent, I lay back on my pack and watched the Southern Cross and Scorpio pirouette over the Milky Way one last time.

Reaching the other side two hours later, we walked in the dark, past enormous termite mounds 10 to 12 feet high, for about an hour, to a small town and slept on a concrete portico near the marketplace. Up before first light, by dawn we walked a few miles to the nearest train station.

The train ride took 10 hours to a city that had a hotel and an airport. The next morning, it was up again at 5:00 A.M. to catch the first leg of my air trip back to the United States.

Throughout the journey home, the refrains of a Renamo song were still in my mind. Sitting around a campfire at night, I would get out a tape recorder and ask the men to sing. Their favorite was:

The Resistencia Mocambicana is the struggle against imperialism, communism, socialism, Machel.
People of Mozambique! You must take a gun
And struggle against Samora Machel—an enemy of the people
Until communism is put down from Rovuma to Maputo
And freedom and democracy come at last to our country. ◻

Jack Wheeler is director of the Freedom Research Foundation, in Malibu, California, and the author of previous REASON *articles on Third World anti-Soviet rebel movements in Angola (April 1984), Nicaragua (June-July 1984), Afghanistan (Sept. 1984), and Cambodia (Feb. 1985).*

special annual

book section

Confessions of a Philistine

by Charles Murray

One of the disadvantages of graduating from college is that no one makes you read good books any more. We still aspire to read good books. Most of us even continue to buy good books. We just don't read them. Or we read the first chapter, skim the last chapter, and call it quits. We are closet Philistines.

Even as I write those words, I fear revealing my intellectual sloth. Maybe I am wrong in assuming that George F. Will and my wife are the only people in the world who read Henry James for fun. Maybe my friends really do browse through Montaigne over their after-dinner brandy. But I suspect that we closet Philistines constitute a vast mob. We spend a large part of every working day reading and writing. We get tired of thinking by nightfall and are unable to handle anything more abstract than Travis McGee of John D. MacDonald's mystery novels. But if this goes on too long, the mind begins to sprout weeds and we can't even enjoy Travis McGee any more because of the guilt.

As a writer on social policy, I have an advantage—I can define my next project to include the books I ought to be reading anyway. As Tom Sawyer found with fences and whitewashing, in a reverse sort of way, this dramatically changes the nature of the task. Reading the *Federalist Papers* after dinner is a dreaded chore. Reading the *Federalist Papers* from nine to noon in the guise of a morning's work, for which one is getting paid, is positively sybaritic. But this cannot work for everyone, since (thankfully) very few people make their living writing about social policy. The question remains: How to exercise the postgraduate adult mind without having to work too hard?

The answer is to come to terms with your limitations. It is no use setting up some regimen ("I will read two chapters of _____ every night") for reading improving books. If the improving book isn't fun to read, you are going to drop it. The task is not to make yourself read good books that are tough reading but to find good books that are fun. For me, they come in two types. Either they are books that take me vividly and anecdotally into someone else's world, or they take me into someone else's mind.

The books that open up worlds are the most obviously fun. It so happens, for example, that Timothy Ferris's *The Red Limit* taught me much about modern astrophysics. But I kept picking it up at every free moment because it told me about the pleasures and intrigues of being an astrophysicist. George Gilder's *Visible Man* is an invaluable study of innercity culture, one of the best we have, but it is also a vicarious odyssey for every middle-class white reader who wonders how it would be to venture into that *terra incognita.* William Barrett's *The Truants* let me be a voyeur on the exotic world of the *Partisan Review* crowd, and almost by accident I learned a great deal about the American left at mid-century.

What Charles Murray Reads

The Truants: Adventures Among the Intellectuals
William Barrett. Anchor, 1983

Miracle at Philadelphia: The Story of the Constitutional Convention, May to September 1787
Catherine Drinker Bowen. Little, Brown, 1966

Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History
Fawn M. Brodie. Norton, 1974; Bantam, 1981 (paper)

On High Steel: The Education of an Ironworker
Mike Cherry. Quadrangle, 1974

Son of the Morning Star: Custer and the Little Bighorn
Evan S. Connell. North Point Press, 1984

The Red Limit: The Search for the Edge of the Universe
Timothy Ferris. Revised Edition. Quill, 1983

The Life and Times of Chaucer
John Gardner. Knopf, 1977; Vintage, 1978 (paper)

Visible Man: A True Story of Post-Racist America
George Gilder. Basic, 1978

The Panda's Thumb: More Reflections in Natural History
Stephen Jay Gould. Norton, 1980, 1982 (paper)

Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches: The Riddles of Culture
Marvin Harris. Random House, 1974

Lucy: The Beginnings of Humankind
Donald Johanson and Maitland Edey. Warner, 1982

Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Eighties
Paul Johnson. Harper and Row, 1983, 1985 (paper)

Anarchy, State, and Utopia
Robert Nozick. Basic, 1974

Micromotives and Macrobehavior
Thomas C. Schelling. Norton, 1978

The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci
Jonathan D. Spence. Viking, 1984

The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South
Kenneth M. Stampp. Knopf, 1956; Vintage, 1964 (paper)

Working
Studs Terkel. Pantheon, 1974; Avon, 1982 (paper)

Thinking About Crime
James Q. Wilson. Revised Edition. Basic, 1983

The history I read also has this world-opening, story-telling quality. That's why I read Catherine Drinker Bowen's *Miracle at Philadelphia* avidly, whereas I am still only aspiring to read Bernard Bailyn's more profound scholarship on the same topic. Was Fawn Brodie right about Thomas Jefferson in her "intimate" biography of him? I don't know; but I do know that the only reason I can stay with Dumas Malone's more inaccessible Jefferson is that I read Brodie first. Right now, I am absorbed in Kenneth Stampp's account of American slavery, *The Peculiar Institution.* Don't worry about admiring the painstaking scholarship; read it because it conjures up the antebellum South like no novel you've ever read.

I take the same pragmatic selectivity to books of ideas. I know I am supposed to read Friedrich Hayek and John Rawls, and I do, but only during working hours. Much as I admire Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty* and respect (with dismay) Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*, there is no way I am going to curl up with them for a good read, whereas I know that I can pick up something by Thomas Schelling and have some fun. How tough can it be to read a book like his *Micromotives and Macrobehavior*, which begins with the author wondering why nobody at one of his lectures sat in the first 12 rows of the auditorium? And concludes with a chapter entitled "Hockey Helmets, Daylight Saving, and Other Binary Choices"? With Schelling, you are spending the evening with a questing mind playing with puzzles, and you barely realize how much you are learning about game theory or economics.

Charles Murray, author of the much-discussed 1984 book *Losing Ground*: If you used to read good books—in school—he's your man.

I do the same thing with Marvin Harris on anthropology, Stephen Jay Gould on natural history, and James Q. Wilson on crime. I do the same thing with Plato, even as I am terrorized by Aristotle. In each case, the author takes me along while he sets up the problem. There is no seamless revelation of truths, but a sense of the journey. As importantly, the author lets some personality through.

If there is any doubt about the kind of book I mean, consider the archetype, Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia.* I don't care how much you think you already agree (or disagree) with Nozick or even if you have already read the book. Read it again, a few pages at a time, for the fun of it. He is dealing with the most abstruse questions in political philosophy. The argument is rigorous. And yet it is an enormously entertaining book—not just because of Thidwick the Big-Hearted Moose and the rest of his allegorical creations, but because every page is so impregnated with the personality of Robert Nozick, the only philosopher I know guaranteed to make you laugh out loud.

Thus the list at the left, not necessarily of the best or most profound books in their respective fields (though some of them may well be), but of mind-exercising books that you may actually read, cover to cover.

Charles Murray, a senior research fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, is the author of Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980 *(Basic Books, 1984).*

Lose a Billion, Get a Check

by Thomas W. Hazlett

New Deals: The Chrysler Revival and the American System

by Robert Reich and John D. Donahue

New York: Times Books, 360 pp., $17.95

Perhaps the cleanest way to slice America's socioeconomic philosophers into rival factions is to ruthlessly pursue the question: "Are you now or have you ever been in favor of the Chrysler bailout?" No issue seems clearer to Americans. Type A: "Well of course you can't just let a giant employer die—thousands of workers and dozens of communities would suffer vast, needless pain. And they *did* pay the loan back with interest, proving that they were worthy claimants for public help." Type B: "What's so special about Chrysler? You don't see the local TV repair shop getting federally guaranteed loans. And it's not as if Chrysler doesn't have *better* access to private credit markets. If no one wants to risk his *own* money on Iacocca, why should the taxpayer assume his risk?"

Hence, when *New Deals: The Chrysler Revival and the American System* floated into my mailbox, I was less than impish in my enthusiasm. The book is coauthored by Robert Reich, a lawyer at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, with economic consultant John D. Donahue. This is the Reich of 1983 bestseller fame, whose *Next American Frontier* raised the flag for centralized economic planning under the guise of "a national industrial policy." Since Reich is a reliable champion of the view that government attorneys know more economics than markets do, I expected this new book to be a brief for the bailout that Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca might plug into his next autobiography (or possibly use as a narration to his exhibit when he goes on display at the Smithsonian).

But Reich and Donahue are no Iacocca-puffs. The tale they relate is not a useless exercise in subsidy pleading. The Chrysler bailout, and its paradox-strewn aftermath, turn out to be a strangely fascinating episode in US economic history.

The tale basically began in mid-1979, when Chrysler Chairman John Riccardo trooped to Washington, D.C., as most all patriotic American businessmen are wont to do, and asked the Treasury Department for a favor. Not a great big front-page, socialistic handout, but a quiet, itty-bitty rule change allowing vast money-losing firms to get their tax write-offs in cash up front, rather than waiting to write them off against future income in better times. Alas, the heartless Treasury Secretary, G. William Miller, told them: "No, forget it, no way, absolutely not, get it out of your head. If you're going to get anything, it's going to be loan guarantees..., and even if it passes it's going to be so awful tough you'll wish you'd never brought the whole thing up, and I hate you guys and wish you'd go away." So Riccardo bopped back to Motown and began working on federal loan guarantees.

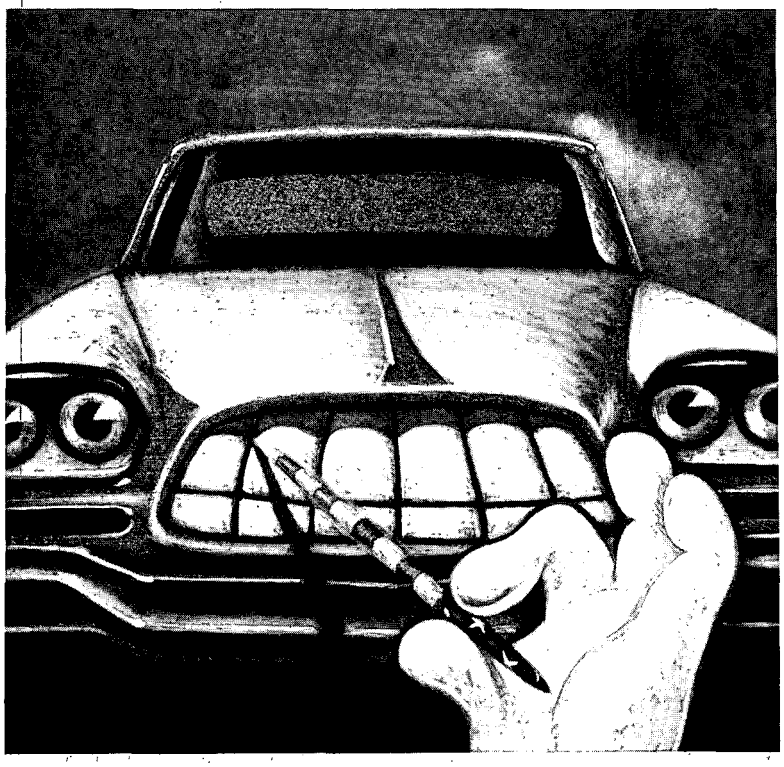
In the meantime, Chrysler, which had developed a widespread reputation for engineering excellence, was acquiring an even better one for losing big bucks. In keeping with Jimmy Carter's theme of "national malaise," Chrysler, Inc., went into the red $205 million in 1978 and $1.1 billion in 1979—setting the all-time major-league record for an American corporation.

But just before Christmas of 1979, Congress dropped the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Act in Lee Iacocca's stocking. (Iacocca had moved up from president to chairman to displace Riccardo, who was axed in a high-profile beheading to convey the notion that Chrysler's old managerial incompetence was being ruthlessly purged.)

The Loan Guarantee Act was staunchly opposed by liberals and conservatives—and so it passed. Walter Wriston, Chairman of Citicorp, denounced any bailout by noting: "There is no avoiding the fact that it is an attempt by the government to move economic resources to where they would not otherwise go. Such distortions inevitably lead to less, not more, productivity." Ralph Nader condemned Chrysler's inept management as the guilty party, while Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) questioned the intervention's distributional effects: "How do you think they feel in the Naugatuck Valley of Connecticut, where literally hundreds of small businesses have gone under over the years?...They didn't have the army of high-priced lawyers and executives pleading their case in the halls of Congress. So now they are out of business."

The loan guarantee became federal policy—but the objections counted. Thanks to the ill-feelings of such Carter appointees as Paul Volcker, G. William Miller, Alfred Kahn, and the annoying Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), the guarantees came with a catch: private concessions. Before the feds were to sign off on incremental loan guarantees (up to a $1.5-billion max), Chrysler's workers, managers, suppliers, creditors, and local governments had to put up a little blood money of their own. In tense, round-the-clock negotiations, bankers, lawyers, and bureaucrats worked through three rounds of concessions among these constituencies: workers giving up cost-of-living and other wage hikes in exchange for stock sharing; banks restructuring debt and forgiving some loans altogether; local governments waiving tax payments.

The plan worked, in the following sense: in guaranteeing Chrysler paper, it allowed the firm to raise $500 million, $300 million, and $400 million in rapid-fire debt offerings in 1980–81—paying just about three-quarters of a point above Treasury-bill rates. By 1982, the automaker was virtually back to break even (minus $70 million in operating profits for the year) and



by 1984 was scoring record profits (a projected $2.3 million).

Chrysler's loans were paid back with interest and even provided the government a risk premium when some stock warrants, thrown in to shut up Senator Proxmire and the curmudgeon element in Congress, paid off over $300 million to the federal Treasury in 1983 (but not without Chrysler's whining for the government to forget all about the warrants). But Reich and Donahue do not jump to the conclusion that all's well that bails out well. The premise, that paying back loans means the guarantees were wise, is bogus. Give *me* the right to borrow at Treasury-bill rates (or a blip above), and I'll be happy to invest in a well-diversified portfolio of higher-risk securities, predictably pay back my loans, and make a fat surplus—and I'm an *economist* (think what an astrologer or game show host could do if similarly staked!)

"We got lucky this time," write Reich and Donahue. "People can also win at Russian Roulette—for a while.... If we as taxpayers make a habit of standing behind private firms' debt, we will lose a large fraction of our bets. Insurance companies bear risks for a fee; if they charge too little, over time they go broke. Risk is cost."

But to the extent that this single shot did *not* backfire, it was, ironically, not because of the best intentions of the loan's supporters—but because of the obnoxious carping of Chrysler's doubters. Economist Alfred Kahn, for instance (he of airline deregulation fame), entered into congressional testimony the blunt fact that the requested loan guarantees of $1.5 billion (of which only $1.2 billion was actually tapped) had to be put in perspective: Chrysler workers were to receive $1.3 billion in *raises* over just the ensuing three-year contract period. (The observation earned Kahn the following endorsement from United Auto Workers (UAW) President Douglas Fraser: "He's a dangerous man when he's on the loose and ought to be locked up for a couple of weeks.")

Using government-made-me-do-it as alibi, Chrysler *did* get the UAW to give up automatic cost-of-living adjustments and retreat from the cherished workers' cartel that fixed wages among the Detroit Big Three. Again, with Volcker, Miller, Proxmire, and the *Wall Street Journal* breathing down their necks, Chrysler liquidated—spinning off their profitable tank division and European and other overseas operations and massively breaking up the monolithic corporation. By the time the Chrysler "miracle" was over, the New Chrysler Corporation bore small resemblance to the old, relying on outside suppliers for 70 percent of its parts requirements.

Most fundamentally, Chrysler had recovered only by laying off nearly half of its hourly workers and permanently reducing its full-time work force by a fat *one-third.* Eighteen Chrysler factories had shut their doors—economic collapse for the 18 communities that heard those doors slam. Or so we were told back in 1979, when Iacocca hit the D.C. pavement toting cue cards boasting of the "two-million Americans who would be severely impacted by the failure of this company."

When the dust had settled, Chrysler still stood, but many an illusion was gone. "It was just a professional reorganization outside of government," surmised G. William Miller. Certainly he is correct, and there can be little doubt that a Chapter 11 proceeding under the federal bankruptcy code (where output keeps churning as the judge passes out claim checks to creditors) would have largely achieved quite a similar outcome. With two exceptions: the wage deal and the stock price.

The senior workers coughed up about $10,000 per worker during the dark days of 1979–82 but finished at wage parity with Ford and General Motors, hauling in $27 an hour in wages and fringes in 1984. This is 70 percent above the average for all US manufacturing, and a cold slap at many late workers of the old Chrysler: "Labor...never offered larger wage and benefit concessions...in exchange for more job security. Harrowing job risk for some workers was chosen over greater wage risk for all."

On the other side, stockholders would clearly have been the first to take a dive in any official bankruptcy hearing, but that's what equity owners are there for. Socializing their *losses* makes no sense unless we socialize—well, you know. And the authors do perceive that "it was not blue-collar workers but stockholders, managers, lenders, consultants, lawyers, and lobbyists—all relatively wealthy—that benefitted most from the bail-out."

In the end, the ironies of the Chrysler episode begin to bump into each other. In fact, we still have little reliable evidence that Chrysler *should have* survived: its stunning 1984 performance was largely the result of—close your eyes, Nancy—Reagan administration

subsidies. The first gimme was "safe-harbor leasing," which gave Chrysler the opportunity to sell its plants and equipment to other companies that would in turn lease them back to Chrysler. The scheme provided needed cash for Chrysler and enabled the buyers to take tax depreciation write-offs from which Chrysler could not benefit because it had no profits.

But this was really only peanuts for Chrysler—$100 million annually—and quickly reversed. The real plum was Japanese import restrictions. Driving down Japan's market share from 24 percent to a flat cap of 1.68 million cars (about 19 percent) drove up car prices by several hundred dollars per unit. There you are, Lee—*now* go talk about success through free enterprise on the *Merv Griffin Show.*

Reich and Donahue conclude that the Chrysler bailout probably raised more policy options than it made standard. In this intriguing monologue on the real-life evolution of a public policy, we see the surprising result that a questionable but explicit subsidy—the bailout—was undoubtedly less costly than a quieter and indirect—but massive—award in the form of import restrictions. The final message is unmistakable: the so-called Reagan Revolution has managed to bring the federal government's "industrial policy" back down under the table, right where it belongs.

Contributing Editor Thomas Hazlett is an economist at the University of California, Davis, and a senior editor of the Manhattan Report.

Modesty Blaise: From Underworld Youth to Super Sleuth

by Edward Cline

"I have no desire to write to please those who make it their business to comment," said best-selling Western writer Louis L'Amour in this year's summer reading issue of the *New York Times Book Review.* Rather, he writes "for the people who do the work of the world...for the people who invent, who design, who build, for the people who do."

L'Amour's philosophy of audience is meshed inseparably with his implicit philosophy of story—lone heroes, armed with practical codes for living with honor, invariably pitted against nature and those who attempt to live without honor. His heroes are *doers.* They have character, skills, careers, purposes, and goals. L'Amour, like Dick Francis, Ian Fleming, Jeffrey Archer, and many other fine popular writers, does not mock productive work. He knows what it takes to earn a dollar. This contributes to an unbeatable author-reader propinquity that must be the envy of such eminent literary bores as Norman Mailer, John Updike, and Joyce Carol Oates.

Add to that roll call of writers for the "people who do" the name of Peter O'Donnell, British author of the action-packed Modesty Blaise novels. If James Bond has had a serious rival, her name is Modesty Blaise. While she has no "00" designation with the secret service, she has unplugged the schemes and lives of as many if not more super-villains as Bond. At one time in her life, she might herself have been a target for Bond to terminate with "extreme prejudice." The assignment would have proven difficult—if not impossible.

Modesty Blaise is a former princess of the underworld. Her "business" included art and jewel thefts, smuggling, currency and gold manipulations, and espionage. Her extra-legal empire focused around the Mediterranean but reached into Europe, the Near and Far East, and Africa to form "The Network." At the age of 26, she broke up The Network to retire with a fortune in sterling and to become a British citizen. She lives in London on her well-invested and presumably untaxed proceeds. Her enemies during her brief career were chiefly other criminals—murderers, narcotics tycoons, white slavers, all the vile and violent criminal element.

She is occasionally recruited by the British government from her life of ease—which includes, among many other hobbies, carving gemstones—to combat vicious criminal conspiracies. Her "M" is Sir Gerald Tarrant, congenial director of a shadowy Foreign Office special service. Her right-hand man is Willie Garvin, a Cockney ex-mercenary who retired with her and now owns a London pub. Created presumably on the premise that it takes a criminal to fight criminals effectively—by capitalizing on an intimate knowledge of criminal motivations, thought processes, and methods—Modesty and Garvin are a unique, formidable team that no gang of extortionists has ever bested.

Modesty has a view of living that is refreshingly unusual not only to our age but also to criminals. Perhaps because it is disparaged (or remains to be discovered) in contemporary "serious" and popular literature, O'Donnell felt obliged to have an ex-criminal exemplify it. She basically views humans as beings capable of independence and self-esteem. She and Garvin have a unique, rational approach to human relationships that is startling in that it requires no sacrifices of anyone. Modesty embarks on her dangerous escapades not from any sense of duty to society or government but as a carefully considered favor or from a heartfelt sense of value for someone or something she cares about.

Modesty's Library

Modesty Blaise
Sabre-Tooth
I, Lucifer
A Taste for Death
The Impossible Virgin
Pieces of Modesty
The Silver Mistress
Last Day in Limbo
Dragon's Claw
The Xanadu Talisman
The Night of Morningstar
Dead Man's Handle

Modesty Blaise creator Peter O'Donnell

The Modesty Blaise novels are all currently available or forthcoming from Mysterious Press (129 W. 56th St., New York, NY 10019).

Paperback, $3.95 each: *Modesty Blaise*; *Sabre-Tooth*; *I, Lucifer*; *A Taste for Death*; *The Impossible Virgin*.

Hardcover, $14.95 each: *The Silver Mistress*, *The Xanadu Talisman*; $15.95 each: *Last Day in Limbo*, *Dragon's Claw*.

Forthcoming, hardcover, $15.95 each: *Dead Man's Handle* (Spring 1986), *Pieces of Modesty* (Fall 1986), *The Night of Morningstar* (Spring 1987).

She is feminine to the core—except when she is in action, and then she is either a blur of motion or a sleek, deadly cat playing lazily with a toy. In her semireclusive retirement she is un-self-consciously benevolent, innocent, generous, and a threat to no one—all the things she could not be when she was clawing to stay alive as an orphan in war-torn North Africa and the Middle East. Her lovers have included a mathematician, an American industrialist, a realist painter, and a physician—men who do.

"She is that highly desirable woman," says Otto Penzler of the Mysterious Press, O'Donnell's American publisher, "a feminist who is not shrill, nor is she anti-male in any way." Penzler had been a fan of hers for years before he began to wage a virtual one-man campaign to expand the market for the Blaise novels in the United States.

Modesty can argue with Garvin the comparative virtues of Sibelius and Mozart, perform with him a tasteful rendition of a ballet scene from *Romeo and Juliet* (after a vigorous workout with quarter staves), cause the envy of any man escorting her around London, yet be able to say calmly to a gang of killers 48 hours later: "We didn't come after you to mete out justice. We don't have that kind of arrogance.... We came to kill you, that's all."

Garvin calls her "Princess" and is deferential to her, except when they are practicing personal combat techniques in his custom-built gym. A veteran of the French Foreign Legion and some-time mercenary, he was rescued by her from a Saigon prison. Modesty recognized a quality in him and transformed him from an embittered loser into a man. She gave him a purpose for living. Modesty instilled genuine self-respect in Garvin for her own purposes; she needed confidence and expert judgment in her right-hand man, and those things were possible only in a man who had self-respect.

Their relationship excludes romance. Both Modesty and Garvin feel that their unique background has given them a closer and more intimate bond than is possible in any sexual liaison. A romantic bond, both feel, would also endanger their synchromeshed teamwork when they are in action against criminals; both would be fractionally worried about each other when their minds and actions should be focused entirely on a lethal enemy. And that missing fraction of attention might cost either of them his life.

Few bother to pick a fight with the pair. Their enemies know them well enough that they should be approached with caution—or not at all. O'Donnell's action scenes pitting Modesty and Garvin against other professional combat artists are some of the most tautly choreographed *ballets de morte* ever penned. Not all their encounters involve human opponents. One of the best-narrated features a weaponless Garvin trapped in an arena with a hungry panther. How he subdues the beast without once touching it is just a tad short of ingenious.

Perhaps the most enjoyable, tangible ingredient of the Blaise novels is the premise that cognition is the key to problem solving. It permeates all of the novels. No matter what their dilemma or task, Modesty and Garvin can isolate, integrate, and act. O'Donnell would seem to agree with novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand that emotions are not tools of cognition. His Modesty and Garvin explicitly ban action guided by emotions once they have committed themselves to a long- or short-term campaign against a criminal gang. In those rare instances when they let emotions color their thinking and they just barely live to regret it, Modesty and Garvin acknowledge their error.

By contrast, her enemies are equally fascinating psychological studies of the criminal mind, uncannily familiar because they are compelling mirrors of the average 20th-century criminal, terrorist, or petty dictator. The genuine O'Donnell criminal is a criminal by *choice*—usually possessed of enough intelligence and raw motive power to live successfully and rationally in a free society—but unwilling to because he has convinced himself that that kind of life is pointless.

If one at first regards O'Donnell's villains as caricatures, then a supplemental reading of clinical psychologist Stanton E. Samenow's *Inside the Criminal Mind* (Times Books, 1984) should disabuse one of that notion. All criminals "regard the world as a chessboard over which they have total control," writes Samenow, "and they perceive people as pawns to be pushed around at will.... They scorn and exploit most people who are kind, trusting, hardworking, and honest."

O'Donnell's villains match Samenow's psycho-epistemological description of the criminal mentality. In *I, Lucifer*, Seff, the priggish mastermind of an international blackmail scheme, who with his wife puts on

pornographic puppet shows but flares up when someone uses a mild expletive in her presence, derives satisfaction from being an unknown terror to his victims and more clever than the law-enforcement agencies of three continents.

Modesty Blaise originally debuted in 1963 in O'Donnell's popular cartoon strip. She was born from her creator's experiences during World War II, when he was stationed in Persia (now Iran) with the Royal Corps Signals and the Ninth Army in between the oilfields and the advancing Germans. Ahead of the Germans came refugees, among them many grim, ragged children traveling alone. "I remember one little girl of nine or ten, probably from the Balkans. . . . She radiated an uncrushable will to survive. . . living off the land or begging or stealing."

O'Donnell, who has been writing successfully since the age of 16, naturally created a similar background for Modesty Blaise, having her come out of a displaced persons camp in the Middle East (she was given her unusual name by an uprooted Jewish scholar whom she defended from thieves and con men, in exchange for which he gave her an education no modern university could offer). Her first and perhaps only job was with the casino of a gang she subsequently took over at the age of 17. She then built "The Network," which she "divested" among her best and most trusted employees and colleagues when she retired.

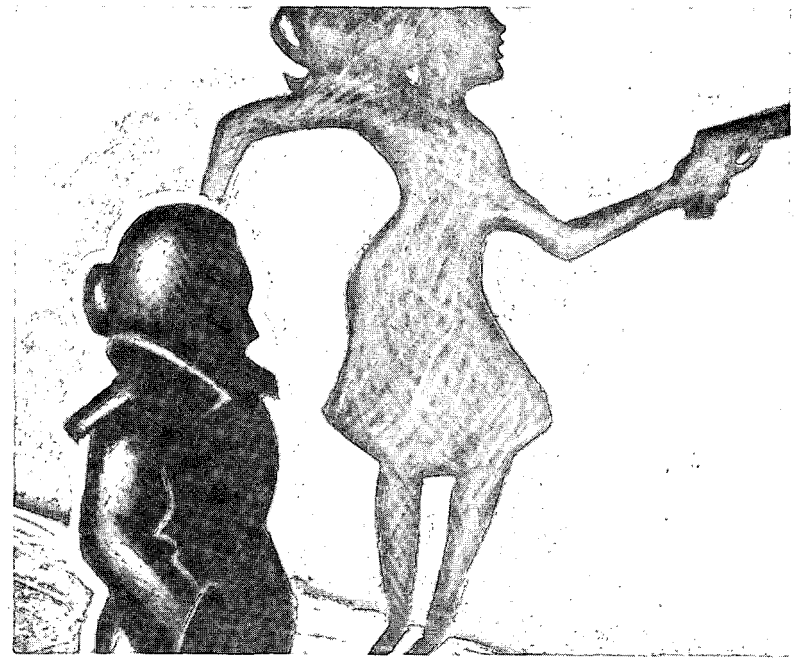
Most of her enemies in the novels come from the disbanded Network or were rivals she had to beat. From her dealings with both criminals and noncriminals, she acquired a wisdom by the age of 26 that few people acquire in old age. "I had no childhood," says Modesty. Her brutal early years were governed by the necessity for sheer survival.

It took O'Donnell nine months to create Modesty Blaise—whose first name was the result of a typing error, while the second was inspired by Merlin's master in the Arthurian legends—and "nine seconds later I had Willie Garvin, complete in every detail."

Among the more specific issues one could explore at length in the Blaise novels is the intriguing paradox of Modesty's own criminal career and how it clashes with her moral code and overall outlook. But this would be a fruitless essay of speculation, since O'Donnell gives few clues as to how she reconciles the conflict. It can only be inferred that Modesty's nefarious Network "capers" in large part involved such victimless crimes as gambling and circumventing the postwar economic distortions caused by interventionist policies adopted at the time.

Willie Garvin recalls Brunel, a ruthless criminal in *The Impossible Virgin*: "Brunel was something else. Brunel was an emotional neuter. You could perhaps feel a shred of pity for the man so twisted that he enjoyed cruelty, but not the man who simply used it as a tool."

Modesty is less tolerant, though. In *Dragon's Claw*, she says of Uriah Crisp, a Bible-thumping, quick-draw murderer: "That turbulent priest there knows exactly what he's doing, and pretends to himself that he doesn't. He likes killing people with a gun, and the Hammer of God bit is pure phony."



Usually an O'Donnell criminal fails because of his vanity—his overweening confidence in the efficacy of his particular method of outwitting people and short-cutting reality. And O'Donnell has created some of the most repellent criminals to be encountered in any literature. None of them differs radically from his real-life ilk, such as Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, Uganda's Idi Amin, Emperor Bokassa of the Central Africa Empire, Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Omar Qadaffi of Libya. More than caricatures, they are psychological portraits of megalorecidivists whose excruciating, ostentatious demonstrations of manners, good form, expert skills, and intelligence are but the fig leaves of evil, maintained as guises for the gullible and as shields against the truth about themselves. There is not much psychological difference between Gabriel, one of Modesty's earliest and most cerebral antagonists, whose chief diversion is watching Tom & Jerry cartoons, Idi Amin of Uganda, who maintained a kilted bagpipe band, and the convicted mass murderer who paints pastoral pictures or signs petitions to end world hunger. Writes Samenow: "The criminal's idealism and altruism are genuine and form part of a reservoir of good by which he sustains a belief in his own goodness."

O'Donnell occasionally mars his stories with an excess of technical detail on close combat, weapons, and equipment. Another unfortunate lapse is his sporadic reliance on psychic knowledge to launch or to help resolve a story. One of his finest novels, *Last Day in Limbo*, which deals with a Central American coffee plantation that uses wealthy people as slaves, starts when a precognition-endowed character "knows" that someone close to Modesty is in trouble. A flash flood of technical information stalls a story, while the intrusion of extrasensory knowledge dilutes the power of Modesty's primary *modus operandi*.

But the dominant virtues of his work are Modesty's adult sense of life and her commitment to cognition-based reason, coupled with her creator's insights into the psychology of the criminal mind. This potent mixture is so infrequently encountered in any level of literature today that it can be enjoyed in spite of the blemishes.

Fortunately, modern movie makers have not discovered Modesty, otherwise she might have by now been turned into as much an aging buffoon as the cinematic Bond is. There has been only one "Modesty Blaise" movie—which deservedly flopped—and it bears as little resemblance to O'Donnell's novels as the Bond movies do to the likewise finely written Fleming novels. The Blaise novels—11 of them, with another due out in the spring of 1986—are as carefully crafted as the Fleming books, in many respects more so.

"I get more letters about the relationship between Modesty and Willie than about any other element in the stories," says O'Donnell. "The majority from women, who appear to be enchanted by the concept. This gives me great pleasure."

What does O'Donnell, who regards himself simply as a storyteller, read for his own enchantment? "I suppose my favorite writers are the good storytellers rather than the fine writers—though the two are not mutually exclusive by any means."

Ed Cline is a free-lance writer who lives in Palo Alto, California.

The Changing Faces of Poverty

by Thomas Sowell

Years of Poverty, Years of Plenty

by Greg J. Duncan et al.

Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 184 pp., $24.00

Issues revolving around poverty and "income distribution" are among the most controversial of our time, so a book that offers new facts on these subjects—some light to go with the heat—has at least the promise of being valuable. *Years of Poverty, Years of Plenty* is such a book. It exhibits both the best and the worst of modern "social science."

First, the best: It summarizes and analyzes for a more general public the results of a massive, ongoing study at the University of Michigan on income and poverty in America. This is done with a clarity that belies the impression too often created that social scientists are incapable of writing English. Tables are organized well and explained with care, so that the meaning of the numbers becomes readily apparent. The actual findings of the study are also very important and challenging to many widely held beliefs.

Then the worst: Interspersed with this careful analysis, especially in the second half of the book, is free-wheeling policy prescription on issues that would each require a book twice this size. Indeed, the selection and presentation of factual evidence suffers from the constant oscillation between analysis and policy prescription. An otherwise excellent book thus degenerates repeatedly into tendentious politics. The authors clearly want to "do good," and they insist on doing it between the covers of the same slim volume in which they are analyzing complex social phenomena.

In contrast to a vast literature that uses annual income statistics to determine inequality or poverty among Americans, this study sees this annual data as only an instantaneous snapshot of a complex ongoing process that must be understood as a process, rather than as a collection of momentary details. For example, nearly half the families who were in the bottom 20 percent in 1971 were not there in 1978, and 6 percent of these "poor" families were later in the top 20 percent. Likewise, less than half of those families in the top 20 percent remained there for the entire period. This fluidity was common throughout the income distribution. Less than half of all American families remained in the same income stratum—the same quintile—both years.

What does this do for our popular concepts of "the poor," or "the affluent," who tend to be discussed as if they were people persistently in the same relative positions in the income hierarchy? Those who are *persistently* poor—in the bottom 20 percent at least eight out of 10 years—are less than 3 percent of the US population.

The very concept of a family also becomes less set in stone from a multiyear perspective. At the end of 11 years, nearly half of all families were headed by a different person. The growing up of children, the remarriage of widows, the divorce of parents, all create a very dynamic process that confounds static definitions.

This study reveals that the family, among other things, redistributes income—far more income than the government redistributes. The formation and dissolution of families is one of the major factors in getting women into and out of poverty. More than half the difference between black and white women in their rate of change in income was due to the lower marriage rates of black women.

A dynamic study of welfare recipients likewise presents a different picture from that derived from one-year statistics. Just as there is a considerable turnover among people at different income levels, there is also a considerable turnover of people on welfare. This means that there is a much larger proportion of the population on welfare over a decade than at any given time. About one-fourth of the total population received at least one of the many forms of welfare, at some time

or other during the decade beginning in 1969. But less than 1 percent of the population received half or more of their income from welfare in as many as eight years of that decade.

Employment was also found to be quite different when seen in a one-year snapshot, as compared to a multiyear motion picture. The hourly rates of pay for men in their prime working ages changed by an average of 25 percent from one year to the next. Moreover, while both black and white male household heads averaged more than 2,000 hours worked in 1969, most of them also had hours fluctuations over the next decade of at least 250 hours per year—the equivalent of more than six weeks' work. A substantial majority had hours variations of at least 500 hours for at least one year of the decade.

Years of Poverty, Years of Plenty is at its best in its descriptions of dynamic income changes. When it proceeds to the next step of determining causation, it ventures onto shaky ground, and when it tries to prescribe policy it sinks into a swamp. While this book's virtues are its own, its faults are common to a large body of "social science" literature and so are well worth exploring for that reason.

Statistical "explanations" of causation are essentially statements that holding constant some variable (education, urbanization, etc.) will reduce the income differences between groups by some fraction. But, like others who use specialized terminology with highly restricted meaning, the authors of this study drift into using it as if its more general meaning also applied. Thus, after various factors used to "explain" male-female income differences still leave a substantial unexplained residual, the authors ask: "If skills do not 'explain' most of the wage gap, then what does explain it?" After a momentary pause to note the difficulty of testing alternative hypotheses, the authors proceed to ignore this caveat, come down heavily on the side of discrimination, and launch into advocacy of various government policy "solutions," including affirmative action, equal pay laws, and projecting a different image of women in textbooks. They even assert that sex discrimination has been "proven" before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—omitting the crucial point that such "proof" almost invariably consists of nothing more than statistics used in precisely the same way that this study uses them to "explain" economic differences. The authors add that discrimination is "confirmed by psychologists and sociologists," a statement that is undoubtedly correct as to the general state of political opinion in the so-called social sciences but says nothing about the actual situation in the real world.

The problems inherent in this shifting use of words such as *explain* and *proof* become apparent if we consider height as an explanation of wage differences. If the wages earned by each person in the population are tabulated along with his or her height, we will undoubtedly find a significant correlation between height and earnings, because most people under five feet tall are too young to be earning anything. Statistically, holding height constant will therefore reduce income differences and so "explain" a certain amount of variance. But in fact it has explained nothing in any meaningful cause-and-effect sense. Growing up simply happens to be related to acquiring schooling, skills, and experience, all of which affect earnings.

The authors of this study understand this principle. They simply proceed as if they don't—like many "social scientists" trying to do good. They acknowledge more than once that the variables they specify may not be defined and measured with the precision required for conclusive evidence. Ultimately that is true of all variables in all studies. However, what is crucial here is not that these authors have approached no closer to perfection than anyone else, but that large and well-known qualitative differences in the education of men and women are utterly ignored in their statistical "explanation."

What the authors treat in their statistics as the "same" education is not close to being the same between males and females, beginning in high school and especially in higher education. The mathematics component—crucial in the social sciences and engineering, and increasingly important in other fields—is not even remotely the same. Young women enter college with far less mathematics background than young men—so much so as to put large areas of study off-limits to women from the beginning. Ignoring this is not a question of general measurement problems but rather of ignoring things known in advance to be very different in the groups being compared. It is as if the height "explanation" of earnings were to be used in "explaining" economic differences between the Swedes and the Japanese, knowing in advance that these two groups differ in average height at every age. By dichotomizing all possible reasons for sex differences in earnings into discrimination and socialization, the authors also utterly ignore physical differences that affect the likelihood that women will enter physically demanding and well-paid fields, such as construction, mining, and the like.

Most important of all, discrimination is not treated like other possible explanations and subjected to empirical tests and analytical critiques. It is the residual beneficiary of anything not explained by other specified variables. If it isn't discrimination, then what is it? That is the basic challenge. Others have asked: If it isn't genetics, then what is it? Still others might ask: If it isn't culture, then what is it? If it isn't luck, etc., etc.?

This approach is in complete contrast to the way the same authors proceed when testing alternative theories of the labor market in general. Here they compare alternative "human capital" and "dual labor market" theories, and test them against each other and the facts. They do not say that any residual unexplained by one must be due to the other.

Given the huge unexplained residuals commonplace in the social sciences at this stage of their development, the automatic attribution of the unexplained to some favored theory is especially indefensible. At its worst, it borders on the Marxist tactic of declaring that something is "no accident"—the only alternative to chance being their special theory.

Other parts of the liberal-left vision are "proven" in equally cavalier fashion. People's own attitudes and values have little effect on their economic fate, the authors conclude, because attitude survey answers have little or no correlation with subsequent economic levels. But this ignores the fundamental point that values are ultimately questions of trade-offs, of how much one is willing to sacrifice of one thing to achieve other things. Attitude surveys are tests of lip service, not sacrifices. It is hardly surprising that such surveys often show low-performance groups with the same "values" as high-performance groups when values are defined in ways that have no relevance to the issue.

Finally, when the authors turn directly to policy prescription, the arbitrary and the unsubstantiated come into their own. After having demonstrated, at the beginning of the book, the slippery and ever-changing human content of such categories as "the family" or "the poor," the authors nevertheless end by implicitly accepting, as the touchstone of social policy, statistical parity of results among such categories. Why it is morally imperative that statistical categories look equal on paper is a question never addressed. Worse, the authors falsely attribute to others the notion that labor markets are morally "fair," that women "deserve" less pay than men. This is quite a degeneration for a book whose special qualities might represent a major contribution to understanding, if it did not so readily succumb to the fashions, visions, and moral self-indulgence that make a mockery of much contemporary "social science."

Thomas Sowell, an economist, is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. He is the author of numerous books, including Knowledge and Decisions, The Economics and Politics of Race, Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?, *and, most recently,* Marxism: Philosophy and Economics.

Entrepreneur-chic

by Norman Macrae

Innovation and Entrepreneurship: Practice and Principles

by Peter F. Drucker

New York: Harper & Row, 368 pp., $19.95

Intrapreneuring: Why You Don't Have to Leave the Corporation to Become an Entrepreneur

by Gifford Pinchot III

New York: Harper & Row, 277 pp., $19.95

During the Henry Ford manufacturing age, about 40 of the world's 160 or so countries grew rich because they were temporarily able to increase productivity efficiently by organizational activity from the top: that is, executives sat at various levels in the offices of hierarchically run corporations and arranged how those below them on the assembly lines could most productively work with their hands. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, the books most assiduously fed to business students—such as John Kenneth Galbraith's *New Industrial State* and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's *Le Defi Americain* (The American Challenge)—assumed that this trend would continue forever. They suggested that the most economic size for corporations would grow bigger and bigger, that nobody except a hopeless romantic thought this could be the age of the small man, and that the mega-power of huge American multinational corporations would spread unchecked across the world.

This was embarrassing to any of us newspapermen who visited such businesses. It was clear to us that, shortly before these two books were both written in 1968 and promptly entered the bestseller lists, precisely the opposite trend had remorselessly begun to occur. We now know that since the mid-1960s large corporations have in the most important sense been growing smaller. The Fortune 1,000 big companies employ fewer people than they did in 1965. All of the huge net creation of private-sector jobs since 1965 in the United States has taken place in small and medium-sized firms. The big bureaucratic corporations have been flying into the ground, for an obvious reason. Now that much of manufacturing and most simple white-collar tasks can be automated, more workers have become brainworkers. And it is nonsense for hierarchical layers of group vice-presidents to try to arrange what the brainworker in the office below will do with his imagination.

In the mid-1970s I was therefore writing articles in *The Economist* arguing that the "world is probably drawing to the end of the era dominated by very big business corporations, except those corporations that manage to turn themselves into confederations of entrepreneurs." During the past 10 years of hearing other people knock this formula, first to hell, and then into shape, I have almost begun to believe in it—although the most dangerous moment for a newspaperman is when he stops being controversial and thinks he is becoming trendy.

The idea of turning corporations into "confederations of entrepreneurs"—although they call their entrepreneurs "skunk groups"—became trendy in America with Tom Peters and Bob Waterman's 1982 bestseller for the Harper & Row stable, *In Search of Excellence.* This book satisfied what I regard as the

prerequisite for brilliant business research. First, it accorded with all my preexisting prejudices. Second, it instantly made a great deal of money. Now, two more books from Harper & Row complete the accolade.

One, Gifford Pinchot's *Intrapreneuring*, is embarrassingly dedicated to me, although also to another friend who holds what I thought were widely different views. Second, Peter Drucker, who has been writing the best and most books on management for the past 40 years, suddenly tells us, in his *Innovation and Entrepreneurship*, that he has really been writing about entrepreneurship all along.

Gifford Pinchot invented the word *intrapreneurs*, meaning entrepreneurs within the corporation, in 1978. Ever since, I have been wishing that I had talked of "confederations of small groups of intrapreneurs" instead of entrepreneurs. Pinchot set up a management consulting firm to try to persuade corporations to breed intrapreneurs and devised a scheme of "intracapital" that would be the best way of enabling a corporation to hold on to its most valuable staff and set them to innovating at their own pace. No corporation has adopted it, but some systems of stock options have come near it.

Pinchot, however, *has* persuaded some corporations to set up small intrapreneurial product teams in other ways, and his book is partly a how-to-do-it handbook. I like the story of the small product team at Bell & Howell that just goes on the factory floor, grabs a part, and figures out some way to make it cheaper. I like one of the Kohlmorgen product teams that has only one customer, a Western Electric plant; "you can be sure," says Pinchot, "that they focus a lot of intelligence and care on keeping that one customer happy."

"For years," Pinchot observes, "everybody defined corporate success as moving up the hierarchy." Now the wisest companies are creating a second career path through which innovators can win prestige and higher earnings without assuming a management role. The first rule for an intrapreneur is to get a cheap prototype to market as soon as he has made it. Intrapreneurs have advantages over entrepreneurs (who found their own businesses) because corporations can provide manufacturing facilities where intrapreneurs can run up cheap prototypes in their free time, plus some kinds of personnel resources (including friends) and supportive suppliers, plus marketing networks and marketing clout. Of these, I believe marketing networks to be the most important.

But intrapreneurs have difficulties when they do not fit with a big company's bureaucratic outlook. They have to follow such rules as "come to work each day willing to be fired," and "never bet on a race unless you are running it"; and they have to want to spend most of their time changing things, instead of keeping things as they are.

It is always nice to welcome Peter Drucker aboard the vessel of one's own prejudices, because he has both the widest historical sweep and the biggest card index of case studies in the business. Both are evident in his new book *Innovation and Entrepreneurship*, as also is his bad tutorial habit of trying to drill us to think in compartments that don't actually exist. We are told, Prussian drill-sergeant style, that there are seven sources of innovative opportunity: the unexpected, incongruities, process need, industry and market structures, demography, changes in perception, and new knowledge. All Drucker's interesting case studies are then crammed into those overlapping boxes. Naturally, they don't fit, so his descriptions run too verbosely in some chapters and too succintly in others, with the result that some readers will give up.

Art Fry: The intrapreneur to thank for 3M's Post-it Notes.

This is a pity, because Drucker still provides more insights per paragraph than any other author of business books. Listen to this: "By the time an industry growing rapidly has doubled in volume...the ways in which its traditional leaders define and segment a market no longer reflect reality; they reflect history." It is at that stage that an entrepreneurial company often finds a niche.

When antibiotics were going through their 1950s boom, on their way to inevitable bust, the most successful innovator was a drug company that developed these products for the veterinary market (which a rival called the "misuse of a noble medicine"). When American telephones were in their biggest expansion in around 1909, Bell made forward projections showing that by 1930 every American woman aged 17 to 60 would have to be a switchboard operator. It hastened to invent the automatic switchboard.

Entrepreneurs, says Drucker, have to "practice systematic innovation." He is right to emphasize that only one-eighth of the jobs newly created in America since 1965 have been in high-tech. The successes have been searchers for niches: a California manufacturer of physical exercise equipment for the home, a finance company that leases machinery to small businesses, businesses that are taking over previous public-sector operations with competitive bids, and so on.

My own guess at the pattern for the 1990s is that most big corporations will sack their group vice presidents and have very lean corporate headquarters—which will, however, include somebody called a "controller of stock options" and several competing networks of marketing people. Outside these headquarters, most other executives in the corporation—profiting from those stock options, and using these marketing networks—will be seeking to run their own small businesses, sometimes moving those businesses closer under the corporation's umbrella, sometimes moving them further out.

This view is fortunately still controversial today. By the mid-1990s there is a danger that it will become boringly trendy. Clients of Pinchot and readers of Drucker will be better prepared for that tomorrow than will most of the sacked group vice presidents. So it is wise to buy their books.

Norman Macrae has been deputy editor of The Economist *since 1965.*

Is Freedom a Fatal Flaw?

by Eric Mack

How Democracies Perish

by Jean-François Revel

New York: Doubleday, 376 pp., $17.95

French political analyst Jean-François Revel's latest book, *How Democracies Perish*, is a work of embittered pessimism. It is a lengthy and detailed expression of his belief that democracy, as exemplified by the nations of the Atlantic community, is almost certainly doomed. These democracies are being subjected to continuous pressure and assault, of a predominantly psychological and ideological nature, by the Soviet Union, its agents, and its dupes. This assault, although powerful, is not in itself irresistible. But the democracies are unwilling to make the necessary mobilization in their own defense. Thus, there are two sides to Revel's story about how democracies perish. The first points to the reality and relentlessness of the Soviet threat; the second points to the fatal weaknesses of the democracies.

Revel presents the Soviet Union as needing and seeking expansion and domination. This imperialism clearly dates from at least the Soviet alliance with Hitler and extends into its aggressive takeover of Eastern Europe after World War II, its support of Asian communists in the '50s and '60s, and its renewed expansion into Africa in the '70s and '80s. For many episodes within each of these expansionist phases, Revel provides plausible evidence for such a Cold Warrior interpretation. For instance, against the revisionist view that the Soviet Union only clamped down on Eastern Europe in the later '40s reluctantly and defensively, Revel cites Stalin speaking in April 1945: "This war is not like those of the past; whoever occupies a territory imposes his own social system on it. Everyone imposes his system as far as his army can advance. That is how it has to be."

Revel's concern, though, is not so much to prove the reality of the Soviet assault as it is to document the refusal of Western intellectuals and statesmen to recognize and responsibly react to it. This willful and irresponsible refusal is part of the second story Revel has to tell—the story of the moral and structural weakness of the democracies. Here Revel reveals a history of moral and intellectual cowardice and hypocrisy. Here are a few choice examples:

No Western official seems to have seen anything unfortunate or unseemly in the Soviet Union's postwar control of the territory and peoples granted to it through its pact with the Nazis. Franklin D. Roosevelt and his entourage believed it was crucial that the West demonstrate to Stalin its good faith even though Stalin had been faithful only to Hitler. In the spring of 1945, the French newspaper *Le Monde* eagerly excused a Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe, claiming, "The clock of history has struck the Slavic hour. . . . Only those who, consciously or not, are playing Germany's game will deplore this or be alarmed by it. . . . It was great Russia which saved the Slavs from servitude and destruction, and it is normal that they now show their gratitude toward it by grouping under its aegis."

There is the vanity with which various European leaders such as French president Charles de Gaulle and West German chancellor Willy Brandt sought the role of ambassadors to the East—eagerly seeking a pat on the head from Moscow in exchange for biting the hand that fed or protected them. And there is the great absurd Western ritual of clamoring for concessions and good faith gestures by the West whenever new rulers appear in the Soviet Union, in order either to placate them or to provide support for the new "liberal" ruler against his domestic, "conservative" competitors.

Revel convincingly portrays the strand of continual self-condemnation and moral apology that characterizes Western political thought and language. One part of this strand consists of a deeply embedded conversational convention that the reader can test for himself. Introduce into a conversation with any proper-thinking intellectual a mention of some atrocity committed by the Soviets or one of their agents—for example, the destruction of some Afghan village. The proper-thinking intellectual will almost always acknowledge the occurrence of the horror through some sort of nodding gesture but will then quickly cite some (real or imagined) Western atrocity, say the killing of blacks in South Africa or US support for the Shah of Iran's torture squads. Indeed, once you run this test a couple of times, you will feel that mentioning an Afghan village is like pulling a puppet string. That same intellectual, you will notice, will feel no need to mention Afghan villages if the topic you introduce is, for example, the killing of blacks in South Africa.

In our political culture it is conversationally obligatory to counteract immediately any suggestion that "they" may be worse than "us." Common political etiquette, however, does not at all demand that citations about "our" moral faults be balanced against "theirs." Revel's point is not that "we" are blameless. But it is striking that built into our very conversational norms is the idea that, no matter how horribly the Soviets act, they are no worse than on a moral par with "us."

The political and cultural self-condemnation of the democracies is only part of Revel's story about the weakness of the democracies. The other part turns on the inherent, systematic incapacity of the democracies to wage a protracted global struggle against the Soviet Union and its allies. Here, many familiar themes are discussed—often in quite illuminating ways. There are

the problems of maintaining military and diplomatic unity among genuinely sovereign states jealous of their independence. There are the problems of maintaining long-term and costly strategies in the face of competing political interests and personalities and an open, free, and adversarial press. There are the problems of the inherently peaceful nature of the capitalist social order, its innate distrust of strong and demanding leadership, and the natural naiveté and misplaced goodwill of bourgeois civilization.

All of this, for Revel, adds up to a picture of the democracies as a group of free, culturally and economically fruitful, but politically weak, silly, short-sighted, and back-biting personalities who are pretty much destined to be bullied and subjugated by the politically strong, serious, far-sighted, and united Soviets. Revel ends his book with a call for a real "cold war"—as opposed to the too-timid policy of containment. But, on his own analysis, this itself must be a futile call. What, then, should one think of Revel's case for pessimism?

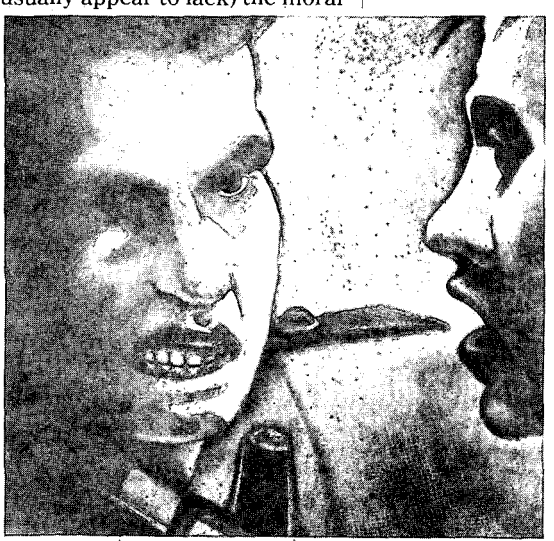
To begin with, one must have some doubts about Revel's omniscience as a historian and policy analyst. I presume that I can challenge Revel in this regard without thereby proving myself a "Commie sympathizer." Consider two brief examples. First, Revel's central claim about Vietnam is that "all the United States was trying to do there was to prevent the North Vietnamese Communists from taking over South Vietnam in violation of the 1954 Geneva agreement guaranteeing each country's independence." But my amateur recollection is that there was no agreement at all to guarantee "each country's independence," since the core of the agreement, for better or for worse, was to hold elections leading to a united national government. As a second example, the reader might mull over Revel's extremely puzzling policy claim that, during the 1948 Berlin blockade, President Truman should have sent "an armored train from West Germany to Berlin to see if the Soviets would dare to attack it. Whether they did or not, they were beaten and the United States could have capitalized on their blunder to demand clarification of the German situation."

In terms of broader policy analysis, it is remarkable that Revel never asks himself whether the absence of smooth and effective cooperation among the democracies might be due to real divergences of interest. He never asks, for example, whether the Western Europeans' substantial reluctance to defend themselves in a manner that we see fit for them might be owing to our commitment to defend them by subjecting ourselves to the threat of global nuclear war with the Soviet Union. He never asks whether European resentment about US "domination" might be owing to our insistence that they play the role of grateful and loyal dependents in our strategic endeavors.

Ultimately, whether we should join Revel in his requiem and whether we should do so with regret depend upon what is meant by *democracy*. It is an astonishing fact about *How Democracies Perish* that it contains no clear discussion of what is meant by the word and, therefore, no clear indication of what Revel thinks must perish. He constantly contrasts democracy with socialism (which he, in turn, identifies with communism). Revel, the former social democrat, is now quite willing to condemn socialism itself as inherently tyrannical and brutal. Yet while socialism is an economic system, democracy is a type of political structure. What should be placed in opposition to socialism is capitalism, not democracy. Unfortunately, however, Revel has even less to say about the nature of capitalism than he does about democracy.

What Revel seems, essentially, to mean by *democracy* is the sort of complex of political structures and forces that exist in majoritarian, mixed-economy, welfare states. Such states are not primarily oriented toward the protection of their citizens against predation and subjugation. Indeed, within such states, such a function is largely displaced by various competing agenda of social engineering, coercive paternalism, and coercive wealth redistribution. In other words, the democratic state is primarily concerned with preying upon and subjugating its own citizens.

Perhaps it is no surprise, then, to discover that such states lack (or at least usually appear to lack) the moral rectitude, the will, and the interest necessary firmly to resist a much more self-confident and determined predator. Such states and their supporters will always be on the moral defensive with respect to their more radically egalitarian, more radically collectivist, or more radically anticapitalist critics. Within such states, those with "enlightened" opinions hate the still-remaining individualist and capitalist elements of their societies. And even the relatively uncorrupt man on the street, having become convinced that all good things in life must come from the state, cannot bear to surrender his (or others') "entitlements" for the sake of defending that archaic value—individual liberty.



Revel's whole analysis thus leaves two groups of intriguing questions unasked. First, might not the political institutions appropriate to a society of truly free individuals possess a clearer will and capacity to resist totalitarian threats and incursions than do the democratic welfare states? Might not governments reoriented to their classical liberal function of protecting individual rights be less apt to deny the importance of and need for defense?

Second, might not the dynamic *nonpolitical* forces of such a society more powerfully extend their (peaceful) influence into the Third World and even into the

Soviet's current sphere of influence than any Revelian cold war scheme? Might not the *nonpolitical* features of free societies have enormous power for (unintended) self-preservation and countersubversion? Consider, for example, the eternal reappearance of black markets and underground economies and the marvelous capacity of the allure of Western freedom and prosperity for "corrupting" traditional authoritarian societies and, perhaps, even the less well guarded outposts of the Soviet empire.

A work that pursued such questions and did not so automatically address only the standard questions, categories, and alternatives in foreign-policy debate would have been more welcome. Of course, to point out that there are other, less conventional questions hardly shows that a solid case for optimism can be built. Besides, we do live in the world Revel discusses—a world of self-doubting, confused, and uncoordinated welfare-state democracies.

But before we join Revel in his prognosis for these democracies, we should ask ourselves a simple question. During the 40-year postwar onslaught by the Soviet Union, how many democracies have in fact perished? And has their demise always been irreversible? One might cite the demise of democracy in a number of Third World nations, including Chile, Uruguay, the Philippines, Iran (in 1953), Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nigeria. But this hardly looks like a list of fearful Soviet victories. What is striking is the simple fact that no democracies within the Atlantic community have perished. So perhaps the dreaded collapse of these querulous and effete regimes is not so near.

Eric Mack teaches philosophy at Tulane University. He is the author of numerous articles, including "The Moral Basis of National Defense," a chapter in Defending a Free Society.

Tinkers, Jailers, Soldiers, Skies

by Michael Grossberg

The Game of Empire
by Poul Anderson
New York: Baen Books, 278 pp., $3.50 paper

Manna
by Lee Correy
New York: DAW Books, 239 pp., $2.95 paper

The Final Encyclopedia
by Gordon Dickson
New York: Tor Books, 696 pp., $18.95

The Peace War
by Vernor Vinge
New York: Bluejay Books, 288 pp., $16.95; New York: Baen Books, 378 pp., $3.50 paper

The world can be divided into two kinds of people: those who read science fiction, and those who don't like it and never did and have no plans to try it (again) before the 21st century. As they say, a diversity of views and tastes is among the inevitable results of freedom.

But if you are among those who long ago wrote off science fiction as worthless dime-store pulp about little green men carrying off scantily clothed Earth women to their laboratories and bedrooms, consider:

- Are you concerned about foreign policy, worried about the problems of nuclear deterrence, and fascinated by the possibilities of an effective strategic defense system?
- Are you excited by the rich potential of free-enterprise zones, especially in so many parts of the Third World, where suffering human beings are struggling to find a way out of a generations-long abyss of poverty?
- Do you sometimes wonder how a fully free society, unrestricted by coercive government, might operate and how its private, voluntary institutions might develop?
- And feeling the coercive slings and arrows of the modern state, do you ever look around wistfully for renewed inspiration in your own struggle to live freely?

If you answered yes to at least one of these questions, you might want to reconsider your opinion of science fiction, which often explores and dramatizes such political, economic, social, and personal questions.

If you are among those who refuse to feel guilty when identified as a science fiction fan, there is no need to mention that science fiction is the only popular literature of ideas today. In fact, it is arguably the 20th-century's preeminent literature of ideas—filled to the brim with questions and answers examined, more often than not, from an individualist perspective that many REASON readers will find congenial.

What makes four recent science fiction works, *The Peace War*, *Manna*, *The Game of Empire*, and *The Final Encyclopedia*, remarkable is not their exemplary focus on individual liberty. By now, that's simply a matter of course for a healthy percentage of the science fiction novels published each year. No, what makes these novels stand out is the skill with which their authors build up gut-churning suspense and plot devious political intrigue in the perennial battle to attain, or sustain, a free society.

The Peace War, by Vernor Vinge, is one of the best science fiction novels of the past year. In this political thriller about an unusual war to end an even more unusual form of tyranny, Vinge, a relative beginner in the field, has succeeded in doing what science fiction does best: he's conjured up a fascinating new concept and imagined how it would transform the world.

Near the end of the 20th-century, with the United States and the Soviet Union on the verge of World War III, a small group of scientists discovers how to create impervious force fields. Named "bobbles," the fields are mirror-like spheres that can vary in size from the soap bubbles they resemble to gigantic globes big enough to enclose entire cities. At first glance, the bobbles appear to be a perfect defense against nuclear war. So the idealistic technocrats decide to save mankind from itself by setting up bobbles around every military installation and missile site in the world. Just as World War III begins, they do so, not only ending the war abruptly but also protecting the survivors

(Continued on page 54)

Austrian Economics Made Easier

Ludwig von Mises and Percy L. Greaves, Jr., 1960

For decades Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the leading exponent of the "Austrian" school of economics. His interpretation of economic phenomena in the light of the subjective value, marginal utility, theory of value led him to many important conclusions, among them explanations (1) as to why socialist economies cannot calculate — they have no economic compass, no market prices, to guide them — and (2) as to how the manipulation of the quantity of money and credit must inevitably lead to economic distortions, booms, busts, depressions.

Mises came to the United States in 1940 to escape Hitler-dominated Europe. With his background as a European intellectual, the words and the historical examples he chose to express his ideas clearly and precisely are frequently unfamiliar to modern readers. Therefore, it is helpful to have as a guide to Mises the works of his long-time faithful and diligent student Percy L. Greaves, Jr. (1906-1984).

Greaves attended Mises' graduate seminar at New York University for 19 years; he used Mises books as texts in his own economics courses; he and Mises often travelled together and frequently spoke from the same podium. As a result, Greaves' works benefit not only from a close familiarity with Mises writings but also from insights gained from informal economic discussions with him.

Two Greaves books stem directly from his association with Mises — **Mises Made Easier: A Glossary for Lugwig von Mises' Human Action** and UNDERSTANDING THE DOLLAR CRISIS, based on a series of lectures in Argentina in 1969. The glossary defines the relatively unfamiliar words in Mises' major economic treatise, **Human Action,** translates all foreign phrases in that book and explains the historical references. Before entering on a history of the U.S. monetary situation from 19th century bimetallism, through the 1930s depression, to the date of the lecture series, UNDERSTANDING THE DOLLAR CRISIS explains economic action, value, prices and money. Recent events are interpreted in a 1984 epilogue. According to Henry Hazlitt, author of the ever-popular *Economics in One Lesson,* this book "admirably meets [the] need [for] a book of intermediate length to introduce readers to a full appreciation of the Misesian principles and insight."

Mises died in 1973, but his influence continues unabated. A nationalist Chinese businessman, Fuchow Wang, founder of China Data Processing Center and sponsor of Chinese translations of several Mises books, has written that he considered Mises the greatest economist of the century, that is of "the coming century." Mises' books are important milestones in the history of economics. Modern "Austrians" now coming to prominence are building on the foundations he laid. Not only that but an understanding of the "Austrian" theories he presented are necessary for the layman to comprehend the operation of a free and our not-so-free market. Anyone interested in understanding the economic events of today and tomorrow should begin with Greaves' UNDERSTANDING THE DOLLAR CRISIS and continue by reading Mises.

FMB

FREE MARKET BOOKS
P.O. Box 298
Dobbs Ferry, New York 10522

Please send:

Greaves books to make Austrian economics easier:

Mises Made Easier: A Glossary for Ludwig von Mises' Human Action	157 pp.	paper	$12.00	$ ____
Understanding the Dollar Crisis	308 pp.	cloth	$14.00	____
		paper	$ 7.00	____

Greaves audio cassettes to make Austrian economics easier:

"Economic Understanding, Key to Free Enterprise" (1975) 60 minutes	$ 6.00	____
"Human Action in a Free Market" and "The Importance of a Sound Money to You" Three 90-minute tapes (1979).	$20.00	____

Mises' easier-to-read works;

The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality	134 pp.	paper	$ 6.95	____
Bureaucracy	128 pp.	paper	$ 6.95	____
Economic Policy: Thoughts for Today and Tomorrow	106 pp.	paper	$ 5.95	____
Liberalism (with new, 1985, Preface)	207 pp.	paper	$ 9.95	____
Planned Chaos (1947; later incorporated in *Socialism* as its Epilogue)	90 pp.	paper	$ 2.00	____

Mises' "magnum opus,"

Human Action: An Economic Treatise	907 pp.	cloth	$37.50	____
			SUBTOTAL	____
			N.Y. residents, please add applicable sales tax	____
			Shipping and handling	$2.00
			TOTAL	____

☐ Please enclose also a list of books by Ludwig von Mises (no charge)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

(Continued from page 52)
by enclosing all radioactive bomb sites in bobbles as well.

A world free from the terror of nuclear war—sounds like paradise, right? Wrong. Once created, the bobbles can't be destroyed. The temptation to use this powerful new technology for their own benefit is too great for the scientists to resist. The result is the Peace Authority, a "benevolent" dictatorship living in privileged high-tech enclaves and using their powers to prevent anyone else in their plague-decimated, post-holocaust world from developing, or redeveloping, modern technology.

Half a century passes, and a variety of new societies have arisen from the ashes of the old, with relatively sovereign governments—as long as they don't challenge the Peace Authority's authority. In Aztlan—Mexico and Baja California—feudalistic "jefes" fight to preserve their medieval turf, keeping their citizens in indentured servitude. In New Mexico there is a fascist government. In Arizona, there is a faltering republic—the closest thing to the old US government, which was suppressed by the Peace Authority. And in California, from Santa Barbara northward, there are the Tinkers, a decentralized network of anarchocapitalist villagers who follow a "small-is-beautiful" philosophy partly because they want to and partly because they must.

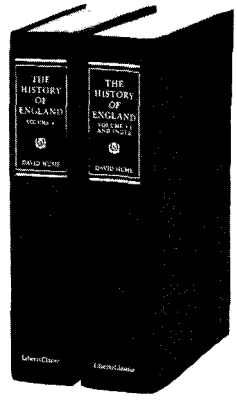
Using private police protection agencies for security and a commodity gold standard for money, the Tinkers, descendants of all those computer freaks in Silicon Valley, live a peaceful, modestly prosperous life. But their memories—and Celest, a popular computer game devoted to the orbital ballistics of space travel—keep their high-tech ambitions alive and make them remember "what the human race had almost attained." The increasingly lazy and corrupt Peace Authority may think they've made the world safe for their own technocracy. But secretly, in hidden cellars and underground laboratories, the Tinkers are plotting to regain scientific knowledge—and regain their freedom.

"They brought us peace, Wili, but the price was very high," the reclusive originator of the bobbles, whose invention was stolen from him by the technocrats, tells a young black boy who escapes from the murderous clutches of rival Los Angeles gangs. With the boy as his apprentice, the inventor continues to research the confusing theory behind the bobbles.

Then one or two small bobbles suddenly disappear—in one case releasing tremendous radiation from an exploding bomb—and all previous theories about the bobbles are overturned. Panicking, the Peace Authority retaliates against the Tinkers, whom it suspects, quite rightly, of sedition and, quite arbitrarily, of responsibility for the disappearing bob-

Vinge succeeds in doing what science fiction does best: he's conjured up a fascinating concept and imagined how it would transform the world.

LibertyPress
LibertyClassics



The History of England

From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688

By David Hume
All Six Volumes Now Available.

The publication of volumes V and VI brings to a conclusion the Liberty*Classics* edition of David Hume's *History of England*. This edition is based on the posthumous edition of 1778 and, except for modernized typography, presents the history as Hume last worked on it. Volume I provides a new Foreword by William B. Todd; Volume VI contains Hume's own cumulative index to the entire work.
Hardcover $15.00 each volume
Softcover $ 7.50 each volume

Prepayment is required on all orders not for resale. We pay book rate postage on prepaid orders. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. *All* orders from outside the United States *must* be prepaid *in U.S. dollars*. To order, or for a copy of our catalogue, write:
Liberty*Press*/Liberty*Classics*
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. Q113
Indianapolis, IN 46250

Fidel Castro knows how to solve all the problems in Central America

While we openly, honestly debate how we should help solve the problems in Central America, our neighbor to the south is busily solving them in his own way.

Are these governments torn by factions, incompetent, too responsive to conflicting opinions and mired in bureaucracy? Give 'em a dictatorship. Jail or send all political opposition packing.

Not enough food to eat? Send everybody into the cane fields while the rest of the country flounders.

Noisy opposition from the church? Expel or jail some priests. If that doesn't work, create a government church.

Peasants clamoring for land? Take the land away from everybody. Tell everybody it's theirs. You've done something without doing anything.

Free elections troublesome? Stack the deck.

Fidel's solutions aren't the only solutions to Central America's problems. A healthy democracy and a free press will harness all those conflicting opinions. Agricultural methods used in this country can provide more than enough food to eat. Land reforms we've long championed will give all who work the land a part of the land.

These solutions and more are part of the 8 billion dollars in aid and trade recommended by the President's National Bi-Partisan Commission on Central America. Your support for education on these issues will show the world that not only do we know how to solve Central America's problems, but we, not Fidel, are going to do the solving.

* * *

If you would like to support our effort to encourage education on the true problems of Central America, and in running further ads in this series in other newspapers, you can fill out the coupon below and return it to us with your tax deductible contribution.

To Marx Lewis, Chairman
Council for the Defense of Freedom
Suite 1160
1275 K Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

3

Yes, I would like to support your effort to encourage education on the true problems in Central America and to run further ads in this series more widely. Enclosed is my contribution.

☐ $10 ☐ $25 ☐ $50 ☐ $100 ☐ $250 ☐ $500

Name

Address

City State Zip

bles. Responsible or not, the Tinkers must fight to protect themselves and their hard-won advances. Thus, the peace war.

Unpredictable in its exciting plot twists yet totally logical in retrospect, *The Peace War* is the kind of suspenseful adventure novel that is a joy to read. If this gem of a story has any flaw, it's in its ambiguous and somewhat anticlimactic ending. Without giving too much away, let's just say that the ending may be less-than-completely satisfying to those who dislike coercive government on principle.

Like *The Peace War*, Lee Correy's *Manna* forecasts some novel developments in the direction of freedom. That should be no surprise, for "Lee Correy" is actually the pen name of G. Harry Stine. In *The Third Industrial Revolution* and other speculative nonfiction works, Stine has explored the vast possibilities for freedom on the high frontier of space.

In *Manna*, he projects the great success of an innovative African freeport, the United Mitanni Commonwealth, that becomes the first private spaceport, with its own orbiting space station and space shuttles. Modeling itself after Hong Kong, Singapore, and other successful free-market city-states, the Commonwealth has transformed a mid-African desert into the promised land for a melting pot full of emigrants and refugees from the rest of the planet's government-burdened societies.

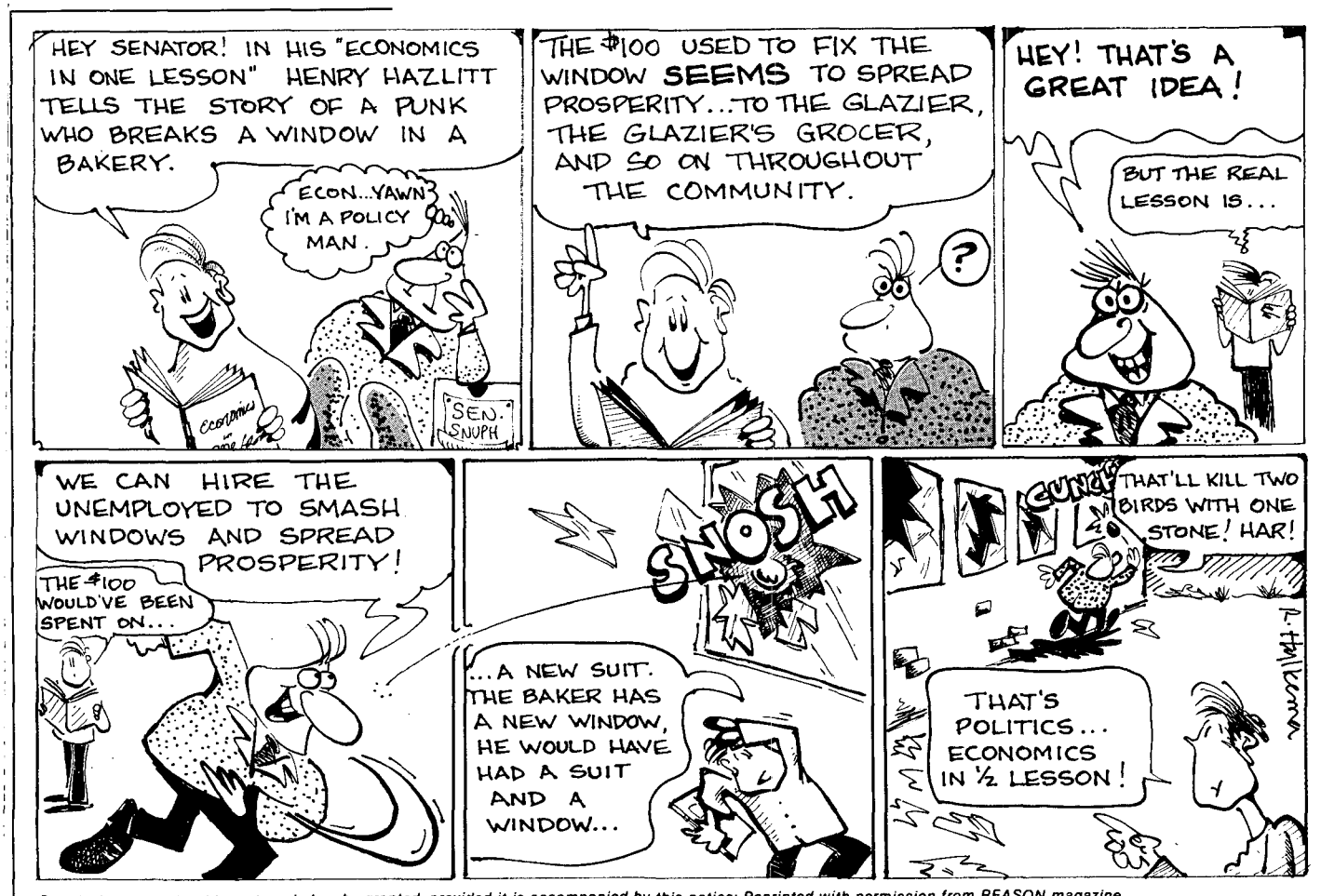
The Commonwealth becomes the place to go for anyone with the drive and initiative to get ahead. By the early 21st century, with America's experiment in freedom in decline, the spaceport also becomes the refuge of an American aerospace pilot too individualistic to survive for long within the US military bureaucracy.

But it's not easy for Capt. Alexander Baldwin, grown used to US rules and regulations, to adjust to the heady liberties and evolving customs of an unrestricted free market—such as attractive women walking around fully armed. "If one acts like a slave, one will be treated like a slave," General Vamori, the Commonwealth's leader, tells him, explaining that women who go about armed are not second-class citizens vulnerable to being coerced against their will.

Baldwin wants so badly to go into space in the most advanced equipment available that he doesn't mind joining the Commonwealth's military team—a private corporation—even if that entails the possibility of fighting his former countrymen. That possibility becomes reality when the Commonwealth's growing success threatens the tariff-ridden space business controlled by the other governments. Since they view wealth as static and limited, these governments fail to appreciate the Commonwealth's philos-

rudebarbs

Randall K. Hylkema


HEY SENATOR! IN HIS "ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON" HENRY HAZLITT TELLS THE STORY OF A PUNK WHO BREAKS A WINDOW IN A BAKERY.
ECON...YAWN I'M A POLICY MAN.
SEN. SNUPH
THE $100 USED TO FIX THE WINDOW SEEMS TO SPREAD PROSPERITY...TO THE GLAZIER, THE GLAZIER'S GROCER, AND SO ON THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNITY.
?
HEY! THAT'S A GREAT IDEA!
BUT THE REAL LESSON IS...
WE CAN HIRE THE UNEMPLOYED TO SMASH WINDOWS AND SPREAD PROSPERITY!
THE $100 WOULD'VE BEEN SPENT ON...
SMOSH
...A NEW SUIT. THE BAKER HAS A NEW WINDOW, HE WOULD HAVE HAD A SUIT AND A WINDOW...
GUNG
THAT'LL KILL TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE! HAR!
THAT'S POLITICS... ECONOMICS IN ½ LESSON!
R. Hylkema

Permission to reprint this cartoon is hereby granted, provided it is accompanied by this notice: Reprinted with permission from REASON magazine. Copyright © 1985 by the Reason Foundation, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140.

ophy of freedom that makes possible "a world that has plenty of everything for everyone."

Continuing their old pattern of escalating trade barriers, diplomatic intrigue, espionage, and disguised "terrorist" accidents, the other governments do everything they can up to a space war between laser-beaming orbital satellites to pressure the Commonwealth into giving up its free-trade policies. Correy's understanding of free-market economics is matched by his cynical realism about power politics, giving his fast-paced story an extra dimension of verisimilitude.

What's missing in this otherwise entertaining and instructive political thriller

Correy's understanding of free-market economics is matched by his cynical realism about power politics, giving his fast-paced story an extra dimension of verisimilitude.

are characters of more than one dimension. At times, *Manna* reads more like an ideological tract than like a novel. At other times, disdaining all pretense of concern with ideas, it reads like the pulp fiction shoot-em-up that it unfortunately is. It's a shame, because in the hands of a better writer, *Manna* could have been so much more.

Also disappointing is Poul Anderson's *The Game of Empire*, a minor adventure story distinguished mainly by the fact that it's the first Anderson novel in more than a decade whose events take place in his much-acclaimed Polysotechnic League series. Perhaps expectations were too high after the colorful capitalistic adventures in earlier Polysotechnic League works—*The Man Who Counts, A Stone in Heaven, Ensign Flandry, Mirkheim,* and *Trader to the Stars.*

Although The Game of Empire doesn't bring back Nicholas van Rijn, the crafty

ULTRAPHRASE

"A VOYAGE OF SELF-DISCOVERY"

Is intellect a quest? I think it is!

Ultraphrase articles are brilliantly intellected — But low-key and cordial to you.

In January, I'll offer a sixteen page essay on the structure of the intellect. It promises you fulfilment, naturally!

Forest Blake

ULTRAPHRASE • P. O. Box 31632 • Richmond, Virginia 23294

YES, Rush my first issue of *Ultraphrase* and enter my subscription: $25/year for 12 issues *(Virginia residents add 4% sales tax)*

Bill me ☐

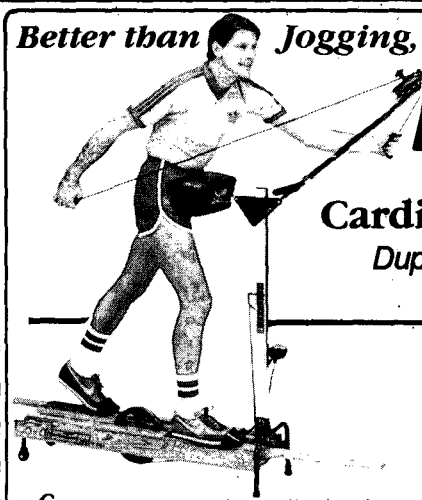
Total Enclosed $ _____ Check or money order enclosed ☐

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Better than Jogging, Swimming, or Cycling...



NordicTrack

Jarless Total Body

Cardiovascular Exerciser

Duplicates X-C Skiing for the Best way to Fitness

Cross-country skiing is often cited by physiologists as the most perfect form of cardiovascular exercise for both men and women. Its smooth, fluid, total body motion uniformly exercises more muscles so higher heart rates seem easier to attain than when jogging or cycling. NordicTrack closely simulates the pleasant X-C skiing motion and provides the same cardiovascular endurance-building benefits–right in the convenience of your home, year 'round. Eliminates the usual barriers of time, weather, chance of injury, etc. Also highly effective for weight control.

More Complete Than Running

NordicTrack gives you a more complete work out-conditions both upper body and lower body muscles at the same time. Fluid, jarless motion does not cause joint or back problems.

More Effective Than Exercise Bikes

NordicTrack's stand-up skiing motion more uniformly exercises the large leg muscles and also adds important upper body exercise. Higher pulse rates, necessary for building fitness, seem easier to attain because the work is shared by more muscle mass.

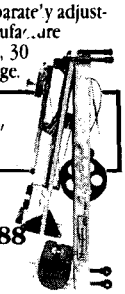
Even Better Than Swimming

NordicTrack more effectively exercises the largest muscles in the body, those located in the legs and buttocks. When swimming, the body is supported by the water, thus preventing these muscles from being effectively exercised. The stand up exercising position on the NordicTrack much more effectively exercises these muscles.

A Proven, High Quality Durable Product

NordicTrack is in its 8th year of production. NordicTrack is quiet, motorless and has separate'y adjustable arm and leg resistances. We manufacture and sell direct. Two year warrantee, 30 day trial period with return privilege.

Folds and stands on end to require only 15" x 17" storage space.



Call or write for...

FREE BROCHURE

Toll Free 1-800-328-5888

Minnesota 612-448-6987

PSI, 141RE Jonathan Blvd. N., Chaska, MN 55318

capitalist who pursued his profits from planet to planet, it does bring back the dashing individualistic hero Dominic Falkayn—albeit in a minor role. A lot of time has passed since Falkayn's earlier battles to save interstellar civilization from the Long Night of authoritarian barbarism, enough time for a new character to take center stage: Falkayn's long-lost daughter, Diana. It may be for the best. With Dominic grown weary and cynical and increasingly desirous of behind-the-scenes diplomacy, only Falkayn's spiritual and genetic heir has the youthful spirit, eager optimism, and just plain nerves necessary both to get into trouble and to find her way out of it.

With only her deceased mother's motto—"better to die on your feet than live on your knees"—to guide her, Diana must fight for her freedom and her planet's independence against a popular military leader who has proclaimed himself emperor "for the good of the Empire." Sir Olaf Magnusson is willing to spare no expense in his quest for power, even if he has to pay for it with the uncounted lives of innocent civilians and obedient starship crew members. Here Anderson's melancholy romanticism and poetic understatement is at its best, especially in one chapter on the "two faces of war" that powerfully evokes the private tragedies inherent in the results of coercive "public" policies.

Anderson also can be counted upon to give his teenage heroine some irresistibly appealing sidekicks. There is, for example, a terrifying but entirely pacifistic giant alien lizard who happens to be a devout Jewish Catholic on an interplanetary search for archeological evidence confirming Christ's existence, and a panther-like humanoid alien named Targovi who has his own secret mission.

But none of Anderson's ample talents can make *The Game of Empire* more than it is: a modest juvenile potboiler worth recommending to ardent Polysotechnic League fans and adolescents who haven't yet been exposed to the best of Anderson. Anyone else who hasn't had a chance to get acquainted with this series should rush out and get one of his earlier classics—for starters, a good bet would be *The Man Who Counts*—because few authors have captured the creative, individualistic spirit of free enterprise better than Anderson has.

One author who often comes close is Gordon Dickson, himself personally influenced by Anderson. Dickson has spun off his own fiercely freedom-loving adventure series featuring the "Dorsai," individualistic mercenary soldiers whose magnificent exploits gave the series its popular name.

With the publication of Dickson's *The Final Encyclopedia*, the grandest and most ambitious Dorsai novel yet, it becomes clear that it was never really accurate to name the series after the Dorsai. After all, they are only one of the genetically specialized peoples to have evolved since humankind left Earth to scatter its seeds among the stars. In Dickson's future history, there are also the Exotics, superintelligent eggheads with a thirst for advanced technology and a lust for knowledge; and the Friendlies, an emotional, religious breed whose faith is their strength. And playing an increasingly influential role in interplanetary affairs are the mysterious Others, a small group of charismatic humans who threaten to set up a static and statist dictatorship that will stop evolution in its tracks. Their plan is devilishly simple: to freeze society, stop progress, and thus ensure the stability of their own rule.

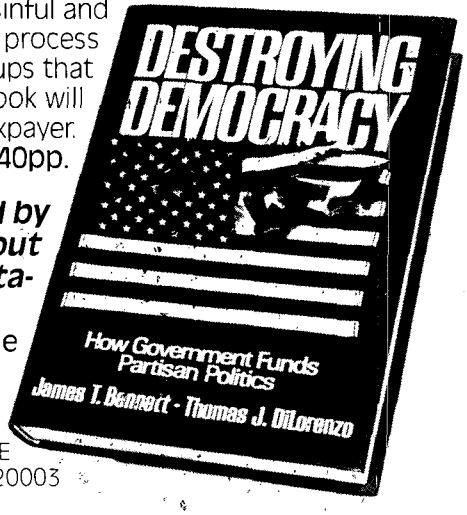
Because of its size, scope, and prophetic vision, Dickson's latest novel could easily stand alone as the crowning achievement of his career.

In *Dorsai*, first published a quarter of a century ago, and in its successors—*Soldier, Ask Not, Tactics of Mistake, Lost Dorsai*, and *The Spirit of Dorsai*, among others—Dickson focused on his brave caste of soldiers, their strong code of personal ethics, and their innovative military

"...a devastating, appalling account of how Washington uses your tax dollars!"
—Senator Orrin G. Hatch

Every year the federal government gives hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars to political groups and lobbies. Economists Bennett and DiLorenzo have tracked down where the money comes from, where it goes, and how it is used. Taxpayers are forced to contribute money to political causes they disagree with—something Thomas Jefferson called "sinful and tyrannical"—and the political process is stacked in favor of those groups that get government dollars. This book will be explosive reading for every taxpayer.
$24.95 cloth/$11.95 paper, c.540pp.

"This book should be read by all who are concerned about the future of representative democracy."
—Senator Dan Quayle



CATO INSTITUTE
Cato Institute
Dept. R
224 Second St., SE
Washington, DC 20003

strategies. In *The Final Encyclopedia*, he corrects that imbalance, giving equal weight to the virtues and flaws of his universe's other castes, even including the Others within his generous vision of our species' diverse future heritage.

It is an epic tale Dickson tells, taking his hero, Hal Mayne, on a gripping series of coming-of-age adventures in each of the strongholds of the Dorsai, the Friendlies, and the Exotics, before winding up for a final confrontation with Bleys Ahrens, leader of the Others, at the Final Encyclopedia. Here, orbiting the Earth in a vast computer into which has been fed the species' accumulated knowledge, history, and culture, Hal discovers the Encyclopedia's—and mankind's—true purpose.

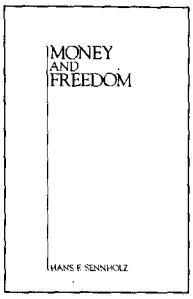
"The question is, which of two choices is it going to be?" Hal asks. "The type (of human) that'd stop and keep what we have—or the type that'd go on risking and experimenting? Because the human equation that's involved can stand for only one solution. If the dominant survivor is the Bleys type, with its philosophy of stasis, then for the first time since we lifted our eyes above the hard realities of our daily lives, we stop where we are." Tyranny, and its inevitable braking effect on evolution and progress. Or freedom, with its flowering of diversity and self-fulfillment. Which will it be for our species? For Dickson, the choice is clear.

The Final Encyclopedia is a fitting climax to the first third of Dickson's vast Childe Cycle, a planned series of more than a dozen historical, contemporary, and speculative novels dramatizing the evolution of mankind from its barbaric past through the statist present to the free future prophesied in the Dorsai novels. Yet, because of its size, scope, and prophetic vision, Dickson's latest novel could easily stand alone as the crowning achievement of his career. It's that good.

The Final Encyclopedia and *The Peace War* are well worth reading; *Manna* and *The Game of Empire*, while enjoyable, don't quite measure up. However, what made each of them (with the exception of the more recently published *The Game of Empire*) well-deserved finalists for this year's Prometheus Award—an annual literary award for fiction dramatizing the virtues of freedom—is the entertaining and thought-provoking way they project a future more sympathetic to the value of liberty than today—a future that (in no small part, thanks to fiction like this) could well be just around the century's corner.

Still and all, some people, inveterate skeptics toward science fiction, will disparage these novels, whatever their purely literary merits, as mere escapist fiction, good enough for a pleasurable read while on vacation but not good enough to take seriously once one returns to the "real world." In fact, these imaginative projections of the fight for freedom on the high frontiers of the future, precisely because they do chart a variety of ways to "escape" the heavy hand of government, are very much worth reading as an important literary step toward making that real world a better, freer world.

Michael Grossberg is a reporter and movie and theater critic for a California newspaper.



We can see what the deregulation of airlines and oil and gas prices has done for consumers. How would we benefit from the deregulation of our money?

MONEY AND FREEDOM
by Hans F. Sennholz

gives a blueprint for deregulating money, and tells how we would benefit from the rediscovery of freedom in currency.

Money and Freedom *presents the case for extending competition to money and banking. To pessimists of all varieties, it offers hope for the future; however, if we maintain an allegiance to government money and government banks, and turn our back on monetary freedom, there is no way out of the present economic difficulties. Government has caused the problem; only free men can solve it.*

—From the Foreword by SENATOR STEVE SYMMS

Only $4.95 from Libertarian Press, Inc.
The Free Market Economics Publisher

Use the coupon below, or charge your order by phone with VISA, MasterCard, or American Express at (319) 277-7546.

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE: If for any reason you are unhappy with your order, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Please send me _____ copies of *Money and Freedom*.

☐ I have enclosed $4.95 per copy, plus $1.00 shipping and handling per order (Pennsylvania residents please add 6% sales tax).

☐ Please send me your free catalog.

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone (___) _____

Mail to:
Libertarian Press, Inc.
Spring Mills, PA 16875
(319) 277-7546

By Benjamin Zycher

Gloria Quixote On the Rampage

If ignorance is bliss, then Southern California's ineffable Miss Gloria Allred must be ecstatic indeed. For this self-appointed defender of damsels in distress has made a career out of such litigious absurdities as a lawsuit against a retail chain for its heinous practice of placing boys' and girls' toys in separate aisles, a lawsuit against a dry cleaner because it charged more for women's blouses than for men's shirts, and a lawsuit against a restaurant that reserved its private and romantic booths for heterosexual couples only.

Recently, she could be found risking life and limb in battle with yet another bastion of masculine bigotry. The local business club? The government of the sovereign state of Saudi Arabia? Hardly. Miss Allred had chosen instead a far more insidious practitioner of "sex discrimination on its face," to wit, the infamous Yellow Balloon children's hair salon of west Los Angeles, against which, you guessed it, a lawsuit was filed, with Miss Allred as lawyer.

Precisely what was Yellow Balloon's crime against humanity? After all, when I last took my children, unlimited animal crackers were offered to all without regard to race, creed, religion, or sexual orientation. Well, in this day and age, that's not good enough; Yellow Balloon's crime was its practice of charging more for girls' haircuts than for those of boys, "even if their haircut takes less time and less expertise."

Now, anyone who has lived in the real world knows that, on average, girls' haircuts are more time-consuming and intricate than those of boys. Market prices cannot make allowances for the infinitude of differences between individuals; market processes therefore tend to drive prices toward roughly efficient levels. In markets where it is practical to do so, individual negotiation smooths whatever rough edges may remain. That is obviously impractical in the haircut business.

Moreover, little thought is required to discern the implications of Miss Allred's pricing standards were they to be implemented everywhere. Equality of prices for girls' and boys' haircuts would create, on average, a subsidy from boys to girls, because boys would be charged too much for haircuts and girls too little. The market would not permit this situation to prevail; salons soon would specialize in either boys' or girls' haircuts, thus leading to the very segregation of the sexes purportedly rejected by advocates of sexual "equality."

LOS ANGELES TIMES PHOTO

Gloria Allred: Self-appointed defender of damsels in distress.

This absurd outcome is not difficult to predict, thus suggesting that "equality" is not the true goal of these fanatics. Instead, their aim is a politicization of all aspects of everyday life; such bureaucratization would increase greatly the extent of governmental control over individual behavior. It is this control that is the real objective of the Gloria Allreds of this world, whose only solution to any perceived problem is government coercion.

In short, it is *intimidation* that is the name of the game. How else can we explain such phenomena as the sidewalk press conference held in front of the Yellow Balloon, without even the courtesy of prior notification of its owner? How else can we explain Miss Allred's demand that the owner admit—in writing—past "discrimination"? (To her credit, the owner refused, although she ended up settling out of court to avoid further legal expenses.)

Does Miss Allred have nothing better to do with her time? Apparently not: bullying such individuals as the owner of the Yellow Balloon, who is attempting only to earn an honest living, is precisely one means through which political power can be enhanced. Except in degree, is there really a fundamental difference between such tactics and the white paint used in 1930s Germany?

In short, more—much more—is involved here than mere excess in the pursuit of "justice" by advocates for women and the other myriad competitors for oppressed status. This excess is the result in part of competition for publicity and influence among "rights" proponents, that is, those seeking greater political power. That they have found it necessary to concentrate upon such silliness as children's toys and haircuts speaks volumes about the small actual role of "discrimination" in modern American life. Hence, the ever-greater and more absurd lengths to which these extremists must travel in order to achieve ever-more microscopic ends.

Given this, what explains the ability of such pests as Miss Allred not only to command attention but actually to prevail in judicial and bureaucratic proceedings? One answer is that it is precisely the judiciary and the bureaucracy—our least democratic and accountable institutions—that facilitate the exercise of power by extremists. This is only one reason that markets ought generally to be preferred over political processes and that decisionmaking by elected officials ought generally to be preferred over that by judges and bureaucrats.

In any case, during a simpler time, such silliness as that represented by the Yellow Balloon episode would have been dismissed by sensible people as the work of mere cranks, deserving only of a freshly laundered straightjacket. Modern times, unfortunately, have witnessed the rise to respectability of sheer inanity, given full credence by the television cameras. This unwillingness to classify obvious stupidity as such is a measure of the depths in which modern democratic processes have allowed themselves to become mired.

Benjamin Zycher is an economist in Canoga Park, California. From 1981 through 1983 he was a senior staff economist at the Council of Economic Advisers.

THE FASTEST, EASIEST

$100,000

You'll Ever Make in Your Life, Yours *Now*

- WITHOUT A PENNY OF INVESTMENT
- WITHOUT LEAVING YOUR HOME
- WITHIN 90 DAYS
- "WORKING" ABOUT ONE HOUR A DAY (OR EVENING)

There are all kinds of ways to make money. Good golly, Molly — if anyone knows that, I do! For the past 20+ years I've concentrated on finding, investigating, creating and specifically singling out only the very finest legal and ethical methods for carving out a mass of wealth in a hurry. But believe me, in all those years never have I experienced anything remotely as exciting as this one!

Recently, I came across a fairly new way to make big bux, but after a thorough study I discarded it because it required too much investment of time, money and personal effort. But my study did serve as inspiration to develop yet another fantastic and unusual wallet-fattener — **something that until now has never been done** — yet fully complies with the tough set of standards I'm noted for demanding of *any* potential wealth-producing concept:

- Must be able to be started with **minimum investment**
- Must be possible to **start at home** and not interfere with family life.
- Must be able to be started and **run initially by one man or woman**
- Must require only a **few hours of spare time per week**
- Must have realistic annual profit potential of **$40,000 or more**

Well, this one goes way beyond my usual rigorous test. Get this: This extra-ordinary money-maker® allows you to:

- Start at once — **within 30 seconds** of studying my report
- Invest **not a single cent**
- Accomplish everything **without leaving your home** — heck, you can do it from your favorite easy chair whilst eating pizza or petting the dog (or vicey versey!)
- Have a potential **net profit** (not gross ... **net!**) of $100,000.00 by the end of 90 days — tops. And that's **cash**, not theoretical or paper profits.

Naturally, you're wondering what all this is — but I'm not going to tell you here. No, it's going to cost you ten smackers to find out. But I will tell you what it *isn't* so you'll not be off on some wild goose chase:

- ★ No sex or off-color stuff
- ★ No chain letter, pyramid or multi-level scam
- ★ No mail order, envelope stuffing or drop-shipping
- ★ No writing or self-publishing how-to stuff
- ★ No loan brokerage scheme
- ★ No stocks, commodities, real estate, etc.
- ★ No gambling, betting or wagering
- ★ No arts, crafts or special skills
- ★ No party-plan, door-to-door or phone selling
- ★ No catalogs, mailing lists, postage, etc.
- ★ No equipment to buy or rent
- ★ No bothering friends, relatives, etc.
- ★ Not anything you have ever seen advertised anywhere

For the past two decades Du Vall has captured the imagination of men and women the world over by providing solid, unique direction for their quest for financial freedom. His firm is headquartered in Michigan with international marketing offices in Hong Kong (known as DAX International, John W. Lane, President). In addition to producing some three dozen publications on money-making/self-improvement themes, DuVall is also the creator of the popular Derek Dax adventure/mystery/romance series and the author of the political intrigue novel, "The Big Dream" (published by Lyle Stuart, Inc., New York). Unlike most, he has never had to resort to outlandish money-back guarantees to attract only the finest DAX-DOERS worldwide and no such policy is expressed or implied.

His writings have been used in numerous style and content workshops and accredited courses at such institutions as California State University, UCLA, Fordham, University of Illinois and Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

WHO CAN DO IT

Anyone with even a smidgen of ambition.

WHAT IS REQUIRED

Other than my step-by-step detailed report ... nothing. I have thought long and hard about it; A person virtually without a shirt on their back or a pot to plant petunias in could do it. You will of course, have to put my plan into motion — but that's both fun and easy and totally accomplished from the comfort of your own home. (By the way, no one will be coming to your home, either.)

Finally, let me make this clear: Once you have my report, **that is all you need to get going!** I have nothing else to sell you for this deal. Your purchase of this extraordinary report is NOT a "foot in the door" to get you to buy some extra or expensive "course" or whatever ... this is all you need from me!

WANT PROOF?

We have over 10,000 'tasty testimonials' from housewives, doctors, lawyers, layed-off factory workers—all sorts of good people. These excerpts sum up their feelings:

"Thanks a million times . . . you have proved 100% accurate in what you said in your advertisement. Doing this work is so easy! I sometimes work while in bed. Should you come up with another ingenious thing, please let me know.
Mohidin Mohammed, Sweden

"We are so impressed . . . have our 13 and 16 year olds involved . . . thanks for giving our family new hope."
MacClear Family, Indiana

". . . man in economically depressed area left $35,000 secure job to put this method to work . . . made $120,000. First man I've ever met who really made money on idea purchased through mail." David Roman, Editor, ROMAN REPORTS, Ohio

WHAT TO DO NOW

You've got two choices:

1. Put this ad aside, wait 90 days or so and perhaps lose your chance at $100,000.

Nifty Bonus!

A few months back in our DAX MONEY-MAKER® CONFIDENTIAL NEWSLETTER, we reported on another business that can easily net $1,000 a week for life. It's a bit more involved and does require getting out and about, but our readers were so delighted with it that I'm including it as an extra **free bonus** when you order our new special DAX report, "$100,000 in 90 Days."

2. Do the only sensible thing. Send me the ten bux and get started on wearing in that path to the bank.

P.S. One more thing (say, this Du Vall is a windy so and so, isn't he!). There are lots of people right now in bad financial straits. I hope you're not one of them, but if you are, having read this ad you now have absolutely no excuse for being broke, because as the saying goes, "This is it!" This could truly be the once-and-for-all solution to any money miseries you have. I guess you'll have to take my word for it until you receive these fabulous reports — but if it eases your mind any, over 1,000,000 men and women worldwide have been, over the years **repeat buyers** of my books, courses, reports, cassette tape programs and newsletters. There must be a reason . . .

— Dean F. V. Du Vall

Du Vall Press Financial Publications
920 W. Grand River, Williamston, Michigan 48895

For same day processing mail to: **DAX**
BOX 14-ND333
WILLIAMSTON, MI 48895

Dean — this sounds like just what I'm looking for — a chance to make mega-bux without any investment or having to leave the house. The same day you receive my order rush me your new DAX Special Report, "$100,000 in 90 Days" plus the Free Bonus Report, "$1,000 A Week for Life." Enclosed is ten dollars.

DAX · DAX · DAX ®
For Personal Success

_____

_____

_____ Zip _____

Optional: ☐ Add $2 for individual handling/first class postage.

©1985

By Mark Skousen

Fool's Gold

I don't like to dwell on the negative, but there appears to be an unhealthy cacophony of questionable schemes and just plain bad deals being heavily promoted these days, sometimes by people who should know better. It seems that the wave of speculative fever that engulfed this country in the inflationary '70s has continued on into the '80s. The only real change has been the specific kind of unorthodox investment schemes.

For some reason, the "hard money" camp seems to be highly susceptible to these kinds of deals, perhaps because of their anti-establishment, nonconformist tendencies, motivated by fear of hyperinflation, world war, domestic chaos, and social collapse. They have never been content to invest in stocks, bonds, bank deposits, and other conventional vehicles. Instead, they recommended "hard assets," such as gold, silver, and Swiss francs. Some went further, recommending such exotic fads as "investment grade" diamonds, strategic metals, rural real estate, and freeze-dried foods, none of which have ever recovered from their popularity of the 1970s. Under the Reagan '80s, none of these vehicles have done well, so the hard-money advisors are looking elsewhere. Consider:

■ *"Investment-grade" rare coins.* This is a treacherous market that can be manipulated by coin promoters. I'm not talking about collector coins, which have genuine appeal to serious numismatists, but rare coins that appeal primarily to inexperienced investors, such as Morgan silver dollars and St. Gauden's $20 gold pieces in "mint state" condition. Some nationally known coin dealers are trying to corner the market in specific coins, pushing the price up sharply in order to establish an impressive track record. For example, most Morgan silver dollars are moving up modestly in price, but the 1880-S in MS65 condition (the finest grade) has jumped from $245 to $475 this year. There is no apparent fundamental reason for this rapid rise other than that it has been heavily promoted.

Some respected coin dealers also believe that some promoters are manipulating the grading standards of rare coins. What used to be an MS65 10 years ago is only an MS63, or less, by today's new standards. What this means is that the prices of today's higher-graded coins are being compared to yesterday's lower-grade coins, thus giving the impression that rare-coin prices are continuing to rise spectacularly, even though in reality the market may be flat or rising only moderately.

Coin dealers can get away with this because even the experts disagree on grading. So how can you, the average investor, be assured of getting a fair deal on a rare coin? You can't, unless you find a trustworthy dealer. Also, be aware that you need to make 15-25 percent on your coins just to break even, because of the high commissions on rare coins.

I recommend that you stay clear of this speculative bubble and invest only in common-dated "semi-rare" coins in "brilliant uncirculated" condition (MS60 only). You may also wish to invest in the genuine "collectors" market, but only if you really appreciate historical coins.

■ *Penny stocks.* These are low-priced mining stocks that typically sell for $1 or less and trade on the Spokane, Salt Lake City, or other regional stock exchanges. Like rare coins, the bid-asked spread and commissions can amount to 10-20 percent of your investment, so penny stocks are not for short-term trading, except perhaps in a full-scale bull market. Most hard-money advisors recommend that you randomly buy a dozen or more and hope they move up when gold returns as an inflation hedge. (When gold jumped to over $800 an ounce in 1980, some penny stocks increased tenfold or more!)

But you have to be careful—you can get burned. Some brokers sell "pennies" from their own stock, thus artificially controlling the price. When you need to sell, the stock may be highly illiquid, and you may have to wait weeks for a buyer. Your broker may not even be in business in the next few years, especially if gold doesn't recover. (Advice: always take possession of all penny-stock certificates, even if your broker is "insured.")

I'm not saying there aren't any legitimate penny-stock brokers. There are. I've even made money in pennies. But you have to know what you're doing, and you can't go into this market blindly, or you will be killed.

■ *Cellular telephones.* Some promoters are charging $5,000 or more to jump into the Federal Communication Commission's lottery of "cellular telephone" licenses. Cellular may indeed be the "hottest new technology of the '80s," but it's too late to get an FCC license, now available only in the smallest cities in the United States. Unfortunately, several hard-money investment counselors have recommended it, and I'm afraid it's money down the drain for those who took their advice. Cellular is a pretty good bet in the big cities, and you can still profit from this potential, but not by purchasing a lottery ticket. Better to buy stock in cellular technology, although these stocks aren't moving up right now. Consider Cellular America (currently selling in the Over-the-Counter market for about $2) or Cellular Technology (OTC, $3.50).

I consider myself a member of the "hard money" camp, but I sometimes get disillusioned. Sure, I'm a believer in gold and silver as a "survival" hedge and as a monetary standard. I support less government intrusion in our financial, business, and personal lives. But I don't bury my head in the sand, constantly harping on the same song year in and year out when the trend is clearly in the opposite direction. For that reason, I've switched my primary emphasis in the 1980s away from hard assets and toward the more conventional investments of stocks, bonds, and money market funds.

In any case, the most important advice I have is to stay away from high-commissioned, illiquid, unorthodox "investments" that are being heavily promoted and thus experiencing an artificial rise. The collapse will be far from artificial for those on top when the bubble bursts. Better to be motivated by fear than greed.

Mark Skousen, author of 10 books on economics and finance, is adjunct professor of business management at Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida. He is also editor of his own newsletter, Forecasts & Strategies.

EARN 10½% TO 23% INTEREST

TAX FREE

How Much Money Is Your Money Making Today?

COMPARE your earnings to the following earnings available from well-known international banking and financial institutions.....

Checking Accounts paying 10½% on your average balance.....six-month savings accounts paying 12½%.....24-month savings accounts paying 15%.....a currency fund with an average annual return of 22.9%.....a 60-month Certificate paying 21%, compounded monthly to yield 36.63% per annum at maturity (double your money in just 40 months).....and, the list goes on & on & on.....

MINIMUM DEPOSITS

To get anywhere near these earning rates in this country, you would have to deposit, or invest, huge sums of money. U.S. banks and financial institutions usually don't pay anymore than they absolutely have to on deposits under $100,000. — but — by & large, the exceptional earnings available in the offshore banking community can be earned on minimum deposits from $100 to $1,000.

TAX FREE

And.....in almost every international jurisdiction.....your interest earnings are TAX FREE at the source.

EASY TO START

Offshore banking & financial institutions offer confidential services ranging from checking accounts and savings accounts to cash bonds, letters of credit, brokerage services, precious metals, gold options, factoring, leasing, portfolio management, and a host of other financial services too lengthy to even attempt to itemize. And.....taking advantage of these services is just about as complex as placing an order, by mail, with Sears & Roebuck.

Opening an offshore account is no more complex than opening an account with a Money Market Fund, by mail. Getting your money back is just as simple.

HOW

To open your offshore account, all you need to do is write to an offshore bank or financial institution and *request information* about opening an account. They will send you all of the necessary forms; tell you what their minimum deposit requirements are for the various accounts they offer; and their materials will explain *how to open an account* and *how to make your withdrawals.*

Making a withdrawal from your offshore account is just as simple as writing a check.

Today, with instantaneous international communication, the world is getting smaller & smaller every day. Now, you can enjoy the EXCEPTIONAL EARNINGS available from the international (offshore) banking and financial community as easily as you deal with your local bank, stock broker, money market fund, or.....Sears & Roebuck — by mail, telephone, or telex.

DEFINITION

"Offshore Banking" *only* means using a bank or other financial institution outside of the country in which you live and work for your savings and investments. *(If you live in the U.S., a bank account in Canada is classified as "offshore banking.")*

Anyone (repeat: ANYONE) with a good income, or modest savings, can enjoy the EXCEPTIONAL INTEREST AND INVESTMENT EARNINGS available every day in the international (offshore) banking & financial community.

WHY settle for the paltry earnings available to you through the restrictive, protectionist Federal Reserve System?

The offshore banking community is available to you for your use. NO MATTER HOW SMALL your savings ability may be, there is a place for you to EARN MAXIMUM RETURNS.....all you need to do is find the offshore situations that will work for you.

WHERE?

Before you can begin using an offshore account, you need to know ***when, where, who,*** and ***how!***

Since offshore banking & financial facilities are restricted from advertising in the U.S. (unless they comply with the same rules and regulations as U.S. banks), you won't find the information you need in conventional U.S. publications. BUT.....there is a way.

"OFFSHORE BANKING News" is the *first & only* monthly news reporting service dedicated to researching offshore opportunities. Our dedicated correspondents (nearly 100 of them), worldwide, keep us updated with current, usable, viable information regarding banking services, investments, trust services, annuities, and a host of other financial and business services available.

By continuously reviewing newspaper and magazine articles in international publications (not available in the U.S.).....***"OFFSHORE BANKING News"*** keeps you informed about in-country changes regarding the financial industry (laws, taxes, etc.)....and....to assist you in keeping-up with the U.S. financial industry changes (as they relate to offshore opportunities), we review bankig & financial publications in this country and advise you of changes affecting your offshore transactions.

NO MATTER HOW HARD YOU LOOK

You WILL NOT find the vast majority of information published in ***"OFFSHORE BANKING News"*** in any other U.S. publication. — While we do carry some stories found in U.S. pulbications (as they relate to your offshore opportunities), the vast majority of the information we publish comes directly from our correspondents worldwide. *Information you WILL NOT find in any other U.S. publication.*

EACH MONTH, ***"OFFSHORE BANKING News"*** tells you....***what*** offshore opportunities exist....***what*** services are available....***who*** to contact for those opportunities & services (full names & addresses)....***how to*** take advantage of offshore business services you probably didn't even know existed....and....each monthly issue provides you with current, usable information regarding changes in the financial industry in this country and abroad as they may affect your transactions.

EXCEPTIONAL EARNINGS

With the information published in ***"OFFSHORE BANKING News"*** anyone with a good income, or modest savings, can enjoy EXCEPTIONAL EARNINGS, Asset Protection, Monetary Privacy, make Tax-Free investments, and legally AVOID unreasonable taxation.

Order your subscription today! — As long as you depend upon the censored and insignificant news you can glean from U.S. publications, you are limiting your interest & dividend earnings. Without ***"OFFSHORE BANKING News"*** you will be locked-in to the over-regulated, less than responsive banking & finance industry in this country.

Mail the subscription order form, below, with your remittance, today!! Start taking advantage of the smart money EXCEPTIONAL EARNINGS available every day in the offshore banking community.

BONUS — Order your subscription within the next 30 days and we will include, along with your first issue, a FREE copy of our Bonus Report entitled, "Offshore Banking Is Not Evil" — the most hard-hitting, pragmatic look at offshore banking & investments ever written. Its no-holds-barred approach delves deeply into the nitty-gritty, nuts & bolts of offshore banking. Absolutely MUST READING for anyone considering banking or investing offshore.

SUPER BONUS — Order a full one-year subscription to "OFFSHORE BANKING News" within the next 30 days, and you will also receive a copy of our Special Report entitled, "EXCEPTIONAL OFFSHORE OPPORTUNITIES" — containing information, names and addresses of over 50 offshore opportunities for your immediate use. — ***The earning potentials will absolutely astound you!!***

OUR GUARANTEE

If within 10 days, after you receive your first issue of the first & only "OFFSHORE BANKING News" you aren't 100% satisfied that our news service can benefit you, simply return your first issue for a full refund of subscription price. NO QUESTIONS ASKED!!

© - *1985, J.F. Straw. All rights reserved.*

TO:**OFFSHORE BANKING News**
301 Plymouth Drive N.E.
Dalton, Georgia 30720-9990

Telephone: (404) 259-6035

Please enter my subscription to *"OFFSHORE BANKING News"* for the period of time checked below. I am enclosing my payment in full.

One Year (12 issues) .....US$90. - ☐
Six Months .....US$50. - ☐
Three Months (Trial) .....US$30. - ☐

☐ - Check ☐ - Money Order ☐ - VISA ☐ - MasterCard

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date: _____

PLEASE Print Neatly

Name _____

Company _____

Address _____

City, State & Zip _____

B1Y

By John Dentinger

Hollywood Heretic

"When you do something the way someone else wants you to, you take your life in your own hands," says "Dirty Harry" Callahan in *Magnum Force*. If John Milius, co-writer of that script, takes his life in his hands, it isn't by doing things somebody else's way.

Milius attended film school at the University of Southern California in the early 1960s and took to script writing, a field in which his youth would not be a demerit. If a scene or backdrop was occasionally inspired by his past as a champion surfer, then a point of view was provided by his developing political outlook—one quite at variance with the liberal Hollywood mainstream.

"Generally in life," suggests Milius, "one tends to choose as an ideal either freedom or justice, if by justice you mean complete security and protection under the laws of society." He identifies the latter as the goal of the political left, a group that his films—right down to the dialogue—seem almost designed to infuriate.

One of his first, which took a dozen years to reach the screen, was *Apocalypse Now* ("I love the smell of napalm in the morning"). Other scripts include *The Life and Times of Judge Roy Bean* ("The only lynching done around here will be done according to the law!"). He wrote and directed *The Wind and the Lion* ("Why spoil the beauty of a thing with legality?") and *Conan the Barbarian*. Most recently, he adapted and directed *Red Dawn* (1984), whose theme, he said, is, "War is hell, and don't tread on me."

Red Dawn has American teenage guerrillas defending the country against a Communist invasion, and when it appeared, the right rallied around Milius as one of their own. For his part, however, Milius says he "steers more toward the libertarian than toward the hard right. I find it very offensive to hear, 'How do you feel about prayer in public school?' and 'You must be against abortion.' I am definitely against the enforcement of any form of religion, whether it be Christianity or anything else."

As for sexual mores, "People can go out and do whatever they want. It's fine, as long as it doesn't affect me." On a moment's reflection, he wants to clarify: "Let's put it even further. I *love* sex. I think sex is one of the best things in the world. You can't get enough of it." What about erotic magazines and movies? "You don't want to see it, don't pay your money. It's as simple as that." Maybe Hollywood liberals don't have so much to loathe as they thought.

John Milius

But then... He applauds Bernhard Goetz's actions on the New York subway and goes further: "If he hunted them down and stalked them and shot them from a hundred yards with a rifle, it'd be fine with me. I'm all for citizens solving these problems."

He adds, "The Second Amendment isn't there so that we can all rise up and fight the Russians together, as in *Red Dawn*. The Second Amendment is there so we can shoot the police if they become too oppressive."

Milius puffs on a cigar, answering questions thoughtfully, sometimes humorously. He often draws examples from military history, one of his favorite subjects.

What about antimercenary laws preventing US citizens from privately fighting in "friendly" foreign countries? "A friend of mine was recruiting people to go to Rhodesia," he recounts, "and he was questioned by the FBI. They said, 'Name some mercenaries for us, and we'll be easy on you.' So he got a history book and came back with a list of everyone who was at the Alamo: 'David W. Crockett,' 'James Bowie,'...The FBI said, 'Do you know where this James Bowie can be located?' I think if Americans want to go off and fight in foreign wars, they should go out and do it."

Government restrictions on the economy? "I can understand the reasons for some of them. There should probably be minimum-wage laws, but I don't like the idea. When you start limiting laissez-faire capitalism, you're starting to touch the very fabric which makes this country different from anything else."

The anomalies continue. Milius is flat out "against taxation." Yet he's in favor of a draft into a national service. "People should be forced to uproot their lives and go to work in some way for the betterment of the country. If they're pacifists they can grow food, they can help with the Red Cross."

As to soldiering itself, he'd like to see a "warrior class." Why? "I respect our democratic institutions, but if Douglas MacArthur had returned in 1951 and crossed the Mississippi like Caesar crossed the Rubicon and proclaimed himself Emperor Douglas the First, it might not have been bad for this country. We might be living in a *Pax Americana* right now."

He suggests that America's foreign meddling has been more foolish than reprehensible. "We should have guaranteed free elections in Vietnam. Whether Ho Chi Minh would have been Communist or not is not really important. The point is whether he'd be an ally to the United States." He suggests that—anticommunist though he is, and little as he would care to live under such a regime—even a Communist regime (soft-line, Tito-style) may be preferable to the chaos that prevails in areas like El Salvador just "because it isn't the type of government we want." Working against Castro rather than with him did not rid America's neighborhood of Communism, he notes, but gave us "the Soviet Union, 90 miles from our shores."

Milius says he is mellowing out with time. "I'm not as intolerant or as harsh to the other side as I always was—whether or not there is an 'other side.'" And that is perhaps more than the "other side" can say.

John Dentinger is a free-lance writer and a columnist for the LA Daily News.

THE CONTRACTUAL COMPANY

Achieve ...

I — Continuity of Existence
II — Limited Liability
III — Centralized Management
IV — Flexibility

ANYONE may so arrange his affairs that his taxes shall be as low as possible;
HE is not bound to choose that pattern which will best pay the treasury.
THERE is not even a patriotic duty to increase one's taxes.

—Judge Learned Hand in Helvering V. Gregory 69 f 2d 810 (1934)

Avoid Probate, Death and Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Reduce Income Tax

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Tax Free Investments available
Paying 13% and 20%

Nassau Life Insurance Company, Ltd.
Call Collect (809) 322-8445/6/7/8

THE PROMETHEAN THEATRE COMPANY

Theatre for the Rational Mind

For information, call (212) 719-9812
701 Seventh Ave. 9W NYC 10036

THE FIRE WITHIN
by Joe David

"...paints a stark, chilling portrait of contemporary public education."
Richard A. Cooper
The New York Tribune

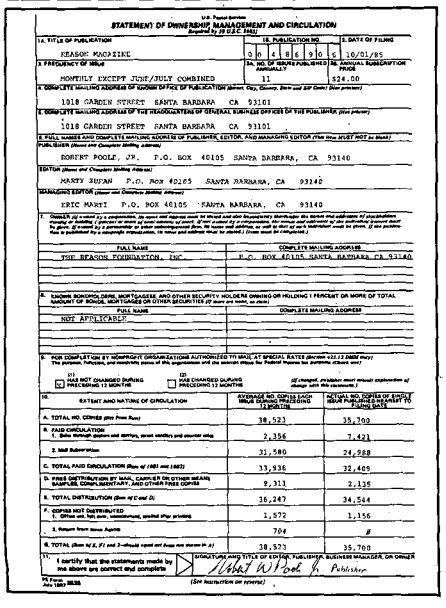
"...exposes public 'education' for the fraud it really is—a coercive institution of indoctrination..."
Alicia Patti
Libertarian Digest

Why can't students think?
Why do they drop out?
Why does the government encourage this? And **what** is the solution?

Discover the answers in this paced, incisive, controversial novel about a fearless teacher who attempts to teach by igniting ***THE FIRE WITHIN***

Send $6.43 (or Visa/MC #) to:

Books For All Times, Inc.
Box 2
Alexandria, VA 22313



STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

1A. TITLE OF PUBLICATION	1B. PUBLICATION NO.	2. DATE OF FILING
REASON MAGAZINE	3 6 5 9 3 0	10/01/85
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE	3A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY	3B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE
MONTHLY EXCEPT JUNE/JULY COMBINED	11	$24.00

4. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION (Street, City, County, State and ZIP Code) (Not printers)
1918 GARDEN STREET SANTA BARBARA CA 93101

5. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHER (Not printers)
1018 GARDEN STREET SANTA BARBARA CA 93101

6. FULL NAMES AND COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR (This item MUST NOT be blank)

PUBLISHER (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
ROBERT POOLE, JR. P.O. BOX 40105 SANTA BARBARA, CA 93140

EDITOR (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
MANNY SUPAN P.O. Box 40105 SANTA BARBARA, CA 93140

MANAGING EDITOR (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
ERIC MARRT P.O. BOX 40105 SANTA BARBARA, CA 93140

7. OWNER (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Item must be completed.)

FULL NAME	COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS
THE REASON FOUNDATION, INC.	P.O. BOX 40105 SANTA BARBARA CA 93140

8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES (If there are none, so state)

FULL NAME	COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS
NOT APPLICABLE	

9. FOR COMPLETION BY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AUTHORIZED TO MAIL AT SPECIAL RATES (Section 423.12 DMM only)
The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: (Check one)
[X] HAS NOT CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS [ ] HAS CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS (If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)

10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION	AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS	ACTUAL NO. COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES (Net Press Run)	38,523	35,700
B. PAID CIRCULATION 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	2,356	7,421
2. Mail Subscription	31,580	24,988
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	33,936	32,409
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES	2,311	2,135
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and D)	36,247	34,544
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	1,972	1,156
2. Return from News Agents	704	#
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	38,523	35,700

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner) Robert W. Poole Jr. Publisher

PS Form 3526 Apr 1985 (See instruction on reverse)

classified

Books

HOW TO GET A SECOND PASSPORT. Report. 12 countries analyzed. Details: WMA, 45 Lyndhurst Terrace, Suite 530, Central, Hong Kong.

Business Opportunities

AMBITIOUS INDIVIDUALS. Start your own business. Earn substantial income at home. Nominal investment in time, money, and effort. Free cassette. RDG, 2024 S. 28th St., Philadelphia, PA 19145.

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, new products wanted! Industry presentation/national exposition. Call free 1-800/528-6050, ext. 831.

$40,000 ON 1/3 ACRE! Unbelievable? No! New Hydroponics works! Inexpensive startup, maintenance. Practical. Free information. Barnhill's, Box 1214, Franklin, TN 37065-1214.

Education

UNIVERSITY DEGREES! Economical home study for Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorate. Prestigious faculty counsels for independent study and life experience credits. Free information—Richard Crews, M.D. (Harvard), President, Columbia Pacific University, 1415 Third St., Dept. 2L9D, San Rafael, CA 94901; toll free: 800/227-0119; CA: 800/552-5522; or 415/459-1650.

Employment

WANTED—free-lance, libertarian/objectivist accountant for fast-growing publishing company. Write Eric Flame, Neo-Tech Center, Box 752, Boulder City, NV 89005.

PRODUCTION MANAGER FOR REASON. So the editors can edit and the art director design, REASON is looking for an organized, self-starting person to coordinate all aspects of production of monthly magazine and lots of related projects. Responsible for scheduling, traffic, selection of vendors, quality, etc. Should have knowledge of some aspects of production (printing, typography; paste-up). Screening now for early '86 hiring. Send resume and salary history to Dept. PM, REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140.

Financial

GROW RICH while you sleep. Become an Associate and invest in a tax haven publishing company. Benefits include: guaranteed annual commissions, worldwide tax-deductible travel. Write for details: Springwood Books Ltd., PO Box 26, Ramsey, Isle of Man, British Isles.

Organizations

GAY LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATION: Sample newsletter, send large SASE: Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns, PO Box 953R, San Francisco, CA 94101.

GROUP MARRIAGE—We're living it and so can you! Send $2 for lifestyle primer. PEP, Box 3912-R, Eugene, OR 97403.

Personals

PRIVACY CATALOG. Cash income opportunities. Secret loans. Asset protection. Underground businesses. New identity. $1.00. EDEN PRESS, Box 8410-RS, Fountain Valley, CA 92728.

SURROGATE MOTHER sought by Bay Area man. Good health and intelligence essential. Terms negotiable. Al, Box 416, Berkeley, CA 94701.

SPECIAL, HIGH RISK OPERATION? Recoveries or remote site problems? Singleton/team: competent, discreet, skilled. Box 3571, Santa Barbara, CA 93130.

Publications

AYN RAND ADMIRERS: Join us! ON PRINCIPLE upholds reason, individual rights, and capitalism. Seven biweekly issues of news/analysis, $14. ON PRINCIPLE, 601 Ewing St. #B-7, Princeton, NJ 08542.

THE PROJECT is must reading if you think libertarianism needs a theory of the ruling class/conspiracy behind Statism. Free sample. A-albionic Research, Box 20273, Ferndale, MI 48220.

THE (LIBERTARIAN) CONNECTION, 17-year-old *open-forum magazine.* Subscribers may insert two pages/issue free, unedited. Lots of stimulating conversation. Eight issues (one year), $10. 4271 Duke #D-10R, Alexandria, VA 22304.

NOMOS—Studies in Spontaneous Order, bimonthly freedom magazine. $15/yr., $3/single. 9857 S. Damen, Chicago, IL 60643.

LIBERTARIAN looking to purchase back issues of *The Libertarian Forum*, 1971-82. Write PO Box 324, Kensington, MD 20895.

RATES:** 75 cents per word, $10.00 minimum. Telephone numbers count as one word; box numbers count as two words. Add $1.50 per insertion for REASON box number.* ***Payment must accompany all orders.

***DEADLINE:** Copy must be received by the 20th day of the month three months prior to issue date (e.g., advertising for the March issue, which is mailed in February, should reach us by December 20).*

***PAYMENT:** Check or money order should be made payable to REASON and sent to REASON Classified, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93140-0105.*

THE CLASSIFIED AD DEADLINE FOR THE FEBRUARY ISSUE IS NOVEMBER 20.

A Classic European Beauty . . .

For less than $50!

Over the past year, European gold coins have gained in popularity with investors and collectors, who increasingly appreciated their beauty and low prices.

When the Napoleonic Wars ended with the Battle of Waterloo, the Netherlands was freed of French domination. The area that is now the Netherlands and Belgium became the independent Kingdom of the Netherlands. One of the first actions of the newly independent kingdom was to renew the minting of its traditional gold coin, the Ducat.

A Tradition More Than 700 Years Old . . .

Beginning in 1814 and lasting more than a century, the Utrecht Mint issued gold coins adhering to the ancient Ducat standard, containing 3.5 grams of .986 fine gold. (The first Ducat struck to those standards had been struck in Italy, in 1280 A.D., more than 700 years ago.)

To inspire confidence in the coinage, the Mint chose an ancient design as well—a design first used about 1600 by various independent cities in the Netherlands.

The obverse features the erect figure of a Knight in full armor holding his sword aloft in his right hand and a bundle of arrows in his left hand. The Utrecht mint is indicated by its mintmark, a tiny torch. (The photo above is enlarged to show detail; actual diameter is 23 mm, a little smaller than a nickel.)

The reverse features a tablet with the latin inscription, "MO. AUR. REG. BELGII AD LEGEM IMPERII", which means "gold money of the kingdom of the Belgians and all its realm."

The coins circulated widely, both as a medium of exchange among banks and as circulating coins in the Netherlands East Indies. Because of their wide popularity and acceptance, the ancient design was left unchanged into the 20th century.

Our Fortunate Purchase . . .

A short while ago, LCS acquired several original uncirculated rolls of one Ducat gold coins of the Netherlands. Each original roll contained 100 mint state coins, dated 1927 or 1928. The coins have a few minor bagmarks, as one would expect with coins of such high gold content.

British Sovereigns, French 20 Francs, Dutch 10 Guilders, Swiss 20 Francs, German 20 Marks, Italian 20 Lire, Belgian 20 Francs—all have enjoyed surging popularity. Indeed, most fairly common European gold coins currently bring prices in the $75 to $125 range.

But because of our fortunate purchase, we are able to offer these coins in Brilliant Uncirculated condition at a price far lower than you might expect.

In fact, we offer them for less than $50 in quantity of 50 or more coins. In single coin lots, the price is $54 each.

Act Today! To reserve your purchase, call LCS at 1-800-321-1542. (Alaska and Michigan call 1-517-351-4720.) Or use the order form below. LCS guarantees your satisfaction; you may return the coins within 15 days of your receipt for a full refund, with no questions asked.

---

yes!

Please send me the Netherlands One Ducats I indicated below. I understand all coins are in Brilliant Uncirculated condition, and are covered by LCS' guarantee of authenticity and grade.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY / STATE / ZIP

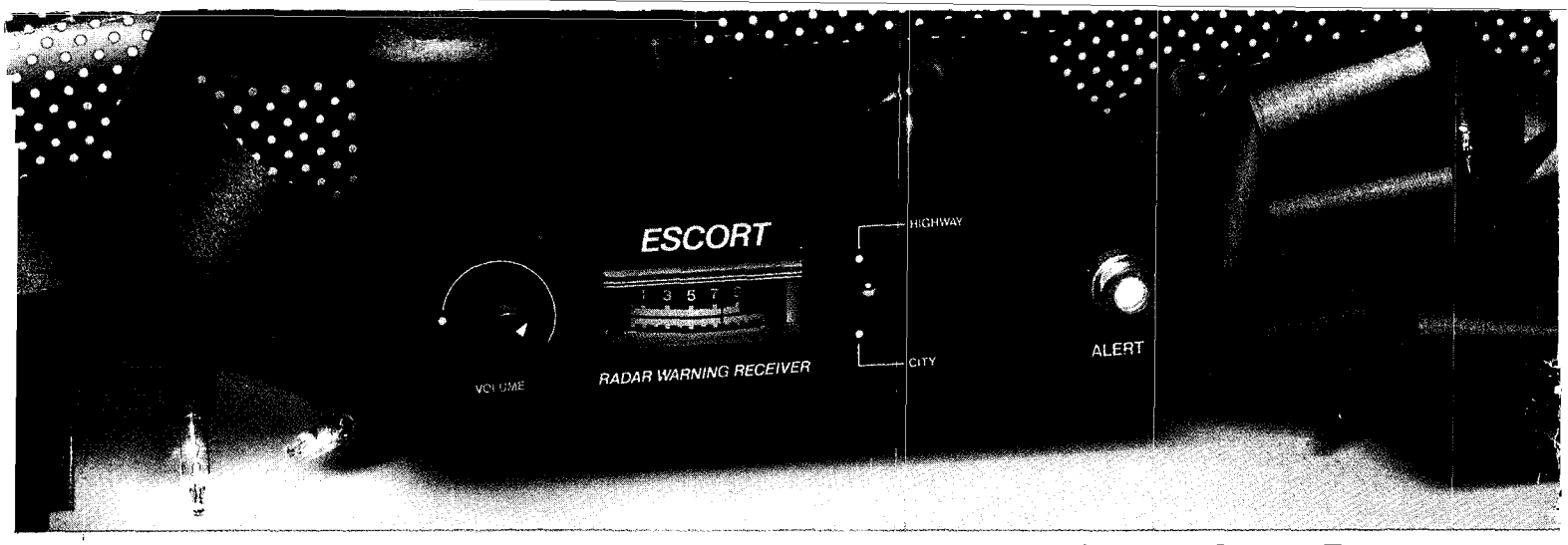
PHONE

QTY	ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL
_____	Netherlands One Ducat	@ $54.00 =	_____
_____	Netherlands One Ducats (5-9 coins)	@ $52.50 =	_____
_____	Netherlands One Ducats (10-24 coins)	@ $51.50 =	_____
_____	Netherland One Ducats (25-49 coins)	@ $50.50 =	_____
_____	Netherlands One Ducats (50-99 coins)	@ $49.50 =	_____
_____	Netherlands One Ducats (100 or more)	@ $48.50 =	_____
	Postage & handling		5.00
	TOTAL (enclosed)		_____

Liberty Coin Service 300 Frandor Avenue Lansing, MI 48912

Liberty Coin Service has served investors with lowest prices and immediate shipment of precious metals and rare coins since 1971. You can call Liberty Coin Service toll-free at (800) 321-1542 for quotations on any rare coin or precious metal item, or for an introductory packet of information.

Call Toll-Free 1-800-321-1542



Overwhelm Your Favorite Driver

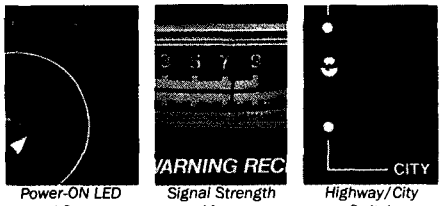
Remember those few times when you came up with the perfect gift? You could tell, because the recipient couldn't believe it. He kept asking how you knew.

Hits The Sweet Spot

That's the effect ESCORT has on drivers. If they don't already have one, they've heard of it. And what they've heard is that ESCORT is the classic of radar warning, the one *Road & Track* says **"...is highly recommended,"** the one *Car and Driver* says **"...is clearly the leader in the field in value, customer service, and performance..."** Over a million drivers have chosen ESCORT since it was introduced in 1978. Probably you know several of them, just in your circle of friends. Ask about us.

We'll Stand On Our Record

Of course they'll say ESCORT works. Any consumer product that has sold over a million units at the rather steep price of $245 each—and has never been discounted—obviously is in demand. And in the world of high-tech electronics, products that don't work don't stay in demand for seven months, much less seven years.



Power-ON LED and Sensor | *Signal Strength Meter* | *Highway/City Switch*

But ESCORT makes an overwhelming gift for another reason. The *way* it works. You know how a few possessions in this life get to be favorites because there's just something about them—a certain heft and feel, a certain way of going about their business—that just seems exactly right.

THE RADAR DEFENSE KIT

ESCORT comes complete with a molded carrying case, detachable power cord, visor clip and hook and loop mounting, spare fuse and alert bulb, and a comprehensive owner's handbook.

ESCORT is like that. The case is made of heat-treated aluminum, which protects the sophisticated components within, and also gives a substantial feel. The audible warning is the same frequency used for Morse code (1024 Hz), which cuts through a Ferrari's interior noise, yet won't jangle your nerves. The alert lamp is controlled by a photo-electric eye, which makes it visible on the brightest day, yet dims automatically for nighttime operation. The list goes on, but we'll trust any ESCORT owner to give you the details.

Another Subject, Equally Important

Meanwhile, here's an ESCORT feature aimed at you, the giver. There is only one way to shop and it's the easy way. You buy direct from us. Call toll-free. We're as quick as UPS. There are no hidden charges. We pay all shipping and handling. If you're really in a hurry, Federal Express is only a little extra.

Christmas or anytime, we make the same promise. If you aren't satisfied within 30 days, send ESCORT back. We'll refund all your money and your return shipping cost. We've been making this offer since 1978 and so far it has been refused over a million times. We think that's a pretty overwhelming statistic.

But around here, overwhelming is simply business as usual. Now let us overwhelm your favorite driver.

Try ESCORT At No Risk

Take the first 30 days with ESCORT as a test. If you're not completely satisfied return it for a full refund. You can't lose.

ESCORT is also backed with a one year warranty on both parts and labor.

ESCORT $245 (OH res. add $13.48 tax)
Slightly higher in Canada

TOLL FREE. . 800-543-1608

VISA

By mail send to address below. Credit cards, money orders, bank checks, certified checks, wire transfers processed immediately. Personal or company checks require 18 days.

ESCORT®
RADAR WARNING RECEIVER

Cincinnati Microwave
Department 100-013-A12
One Microwave Plaza
Cincinnati, Ohio 45296-0100

Tune in "Talktalk," the satelite call-in comedy talk show. Sunday evenings on public radio stations. Check local listings.

© 1985 Cincinnati Microwave, Inc.